

JPRS-UPA-90-058  
9 OCTOBER 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-90-058

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### Work Of USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges Detailed

90UN2591A Moscow NEDELYA in Russian  
No 27, 2-8 Jul 90 p 5

[Interview with Ella A. Pamfilova, a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the secretary of the Commission concerning privileges, by Vladislav Starchevsky: "They Will Fight for Their Privileges!"]

[Text] The materials related to the problem of privileges in our society, have appeared quite a few times on the pages of NEDELYA. Various and at times opposing points of view have been expressed to some degree in a haphazard manner concerning this tangled and in many ways "closed" problem. Today E. A. Pamfilova, a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the secretary of the Commission concerning privileges, will express her view on this issue, which has turned out to be far from easy to resolve.

[Starchevsky] Ella Aleksandrovna, what is going on nowadays in your commission and around it?

[Pamfilova] First about the fact of what is going on "around" it. According to the latest data collected by sociologists, people place the issue of privileges in fourth place in terms of the most significant problems troubling them; it comes after the growing shortage of goods, the inter-nationality conflicts, and the struggle against crime. We are getting large amounts of mail daily (since September of last year, approximately over 5,000 letters have been sent to the commission's address, not counting those, which were personally addressed to one of us). And also, in the street, and on public transportation, many people walk up to me, tell stories, ask questions... And believe me, I am as profoundly dissatisfied with the work of the commission as they are. I have repeatedly spoken in the Supreme Soviet, saying, that one must approach the problem of privileges in a very serious manner (by the way, in television broadcasts such speeches have been regularly cut out, since they are regarded as deputies' internal affairs). I have called on the people's deputies to understand: if we do not liquidate the nomenclature's privileges, then, from one side, [we will see] that social tension grow, and from the other side, that the struggle to preserve one's own blessings will quickly consolidate the conservative forces in the apparatuses at all levels. And the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR has confirmed the correctness of my point: they will fight for their privileges.

But, unfortunately, many in the Higher Council are not listening to our notes of alarm. In one instance our questions are being deferred, in another instance, there is not a quorum, and then... Just think—for 4 months the commission has not had a chairman; we were not able to select another candidate after Evgeny Maksymovych Primakov had left! It is very hard to operate. Out of 28 members on the commission, only around ten have agreed to remain in it.

[Starchevsky] Why? They do not want to occupy themselves with this or do they think that the commission's work is hopeless?

[Pamfilova] There are various reasons. For some it was difficult to fit it into their schedule; they do not have the time or energy. But mainly, as far as I can surmise—it is morally difficult; there is great pressure being put on the commission.

[Starchevsky] From above or below?

[Pamfilova] Well, you know, from all sides. And, of course, disenchantment—[we managed] to accomplish very little. What really happened? We put forward questions, attempt to resolve something which we see as needs to be done, but there is no practical way of doing it. We send inquiries to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the CPSU Central Committee, and various departments—and we are simply given no response. We have turned several times with a request to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, L. A. Vorokin, to give the commission lists of "special" individuals, pensioners, whose pensions were not awarded by the normal channels, but by means of special decrees of the Council of Ministers Central Committee. This is the highest echelon of power—the former members and candidate members of the Politburo and so on. And so since 15 January (!) we cannot get an answer, though we know that such information has been prepared there. So how can the commission possibly function? We have not been given information concerning the sources for the financing of the governmental and departmental dachas, the housing funds, the security organs, the personnel staff, and many other departments. One more example: we cannot get all the joint resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers concerning advantages and privileges that are given to the Party apparatus. And even the few which we have gotten are terribly distorted!

[Starchevsky] For example?

[Pamfilova] For example, the situation is just the same with the 4th main administrative office of Minzdrav [Ministry of Health]. After our commission listened to the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. P. Biryukovoy's lecture, concerning the execution of that resolution, we realized that it was done in a clearly unsatisfactory manner. Simply a change of signs took place. The blessings have become more concentrated; the main contingent remains. To make up for this, many individual pensioners have been "unfastened," whose age is way past 80 and among whom there are quite a few deserving people. Some of these very old men were told in a completely barbarous manner to vacate the government dachas in 48 hours; they were told, go, drop all your old odds and ends!

Such an inhuman attitude profoundly offended them, and set them against us, the deputies; and, of course, they made an indirect blow against Gorbachev. They are writing to us now: "You are barbarians, destroyers, you



are the sort that would only destroy everything." But this is not at all so! I repeat, among those, who have moved against us in an uncivil manner, there are people, who have done much good for the country. Upright people! So then I ask: to whom was such a form of "liquidating" privileges profitable? There are really a lot of odious individuals who are continuing to live in clover; their former activity has not been reviewed by the party, nor the government, and they firmly hold onto their blessings. This disturbs people—they really do see all this.

[Starchevsky] What is the fate of the transferred medical institutions, special dachas, and hunting lodges?

[Pamfilova] According to the data we have, many of them are falling into decay, since during the transfer the sources for financing them and their material-technical equipment vanishes; the Council of Ministers does not show a special interest in the fact of what is going on there. The quality of nutrition even in children's sanatoriums cannot compare to what it used to be under the old management. Often all this resembles a miserable pittance which the authorities, in a fit of temper, under the pressure of circumstances tossed to the people.

What happens is that our decisions are executed in such a way as to provoke still greater social tension in society. The people believe that it is simply impossible to go through the normal channels in order to put an end to illegal privileges. Just look at a poll conducted by the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion: 42 percent of the people think that it is admissible to squat in apartment housing. This is really a terrible situation, when the people do not believe in the government's lawful guarantees and assume that justice must be established by illegal methods.

[Starchevsky] Now that you have touched on housing problems, please, [explain] how the apparatus' privileges figure in here?

[Pamfilova] For example, the deputies were looking into a conflict concerning a "party" house in Moscow. Fine, so it has been built by party means. But from where did these means arise? These are the Party members contributions, including workers in this number, who were so fervently talked about at the tribune during the congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR. Why is it that a writ is given only to functionaries to occupy an especially comfortable home? We checked what kind of "waiting list applicants" [ocheredniki] these are. It turned out—they have been waiting this year and last year. They just get on the waiting list—and immediately receive an apartment. In addition to this, they also have a space, much bigger than the one which is given to a mere mortal to even measure out. Or among the "waiting list applicants," it has been disclosed that a member of the commission of the Moscow Obkom Party lives in Egorovsk. Why should she have to obligatorily come to the capital? And even to a "personal" home? I hope, that the new Moscow city council will look into such matters. And also the fact that Moscow remains a place of

honorable "exile" for functionaries of all ranks, who compromise themselves in their own oblasts, regions, and republics. Why? Let them live where they "rule;" let them walk around and look people straight in the eye.

[Starchevsky] You have said that your commission has been reproached for its extremism, for its desire to destroy one and all. If these reproaches are unfair, it means, you are permitting the specified advantages and privileges?

[Pamfilova] Yes, something can and should be made legitimate. But really until this time we have not had leaders at various levels who have a legitimate status. We need to proceed in the same way as we did with the president of the country: whatever is needed for normal work should be worked into a statute and publicly announced. Probably, in our conditions it would make sense to grant a minister a personal car. But to him, not his family.

Or social assistance for the indigent, for those with large families—are these privileges? If so, then they are moral privileges. But the nomenclature's advantages are absolutely amoral. There is a natural kind of embezzlement going on. In addition, it also spreads downwards and horizontally. If the minister "allows himself something," then the plant director subordinate to him "is in the right" to swipe something for himself; and the worker at that plant grabs something from the machinery, some kind of government hardware "for home," or simply carries out some article of the works that he has seen. That is how the standard of amorality is created in society.

Or consider the special distributors, who preserved themselves, albeit in a "reduced" form. Here a circular guarantee has taken shape; the apparatus distributes the goods. It is quite clear that hardly all the products get to the special ordering units; much is left to one side for the black market. But if you allow yourself to ignore the law and the morals—then how can you ask others to do so? And this is what is going on at various levels, because (I have already had occasion to talk about this) the main privilege—is the privilege of power. Those who have it, are influential to an absolute degree, determining what kind of economy the country has, what kind of life the people will lead. They have got it all. And they will fight for this with all their powers.

[Starchevsky] It seems as if, Ella Aleksandrovna, you do not cherish any special illusions and special sort of optimism. This is after almost ten months of work in the Commission concerning privileges?

[Pamfilova] No, even before this, I did not harbor any sort of grand illusions. But here, in the commission, it is very hard to bear the certain individuals' literal hatred every day.

[Starchevsky] From the apparatus?

[Pamfilova] This word has now become a curse... But really there, in the apparatus, in the Council of Ministers, the Higher Council, the Central Committee, there are quite a few new, intelligent, thinking people. The danger to perestroika originates from other people. We shall call them a "layer." They permeate the entire structure, all the spheres of our life. The nomenclatural elite, who have held up until this time the levers of power and [have] greater experience at discrediting people they find disagreeable. They act in a refined manner, and pitilessly, when the matter at hand touches their own personal interests.

[Starchevsky] Have you experienced this yourself?

[Pamfilova] Of course! True, they have still not written a mud-slinging article about me, as they did about G.Kh. Popov; they have not been able to do so. That is why they are trying to discredit me by means of rumors. Suddenly, simultaneously in various places, a speaker appears, who says that Pamfilova is fighting against privileges, but she herself relaxes in some kind of chic sanatorium; though I have never yet in my life been in a single sanatorium. Or another lie: at a certain closed sale, Pamfilova bought herself goods for 3,000 rubles! These are apparently petty lies, but in a strange way they have spread to the Higher Council, the Council of Ministers, and to other "corridors of power." All this is distressing and repugnant.

To get to the point, in the nomenclatural elite is involved in various struggles for preserving their own privileges and higher privileges. That is why I have been constantly alarmed—one must resolve this problem slowly. It could have been resolved, I believe, if the Russian CP Congress had taken a different direction. For example, if I would have talked at the right time about considerable privileges, with which the highest commanding body of the army has surrounded itself, Commander General Makashov would not have been able to speak from the tribunal the way he did. We have collected a lot of material concerning this theme, including soldiers' letters. They write: we came to serve, but we have been turned into the general's servants. I listened to Makashov and other military officials; I saw, how they took the least criticism against them as an attack against the army; I thought: Lord, aren't they themselves, by means of their very behavior, what they say, discrediting the army. And the Party.

They are continuing to try to scare us, claiming there is a military threat, stating that the army needs to be defended, that the struggle must continue against cutting back military expenses. It is necessary to defend the army. But from those who are discrediting it by their behavior. And who is threatening us, besides ourselves? One more Chernobyl, still one more broken gas pipeline—and the country will not bear it. The whole tragedy is our fault, a result of our slackness, incompetency, the paralysis of power. Do the people really deserve this? We have lost a feeling of self-worth; we can live in homes, excuse me, with bespattered doorways; we can walk along dirty streets... We are indifferent; and what

occurred at the Russian congress, occurred because of this indifference and apathy.

For me, thank God, after so many months of work on the Commission concerning privileges it is clear what the many "founders" of the Communist Party of the RSFSR were fighting for, who they really are. Why was it that suddenly functionaries were so movingly speaking about the workers? Were they ever spokesmen of their interests? Never! It is not without reason that the workers themselves united in order to defend their own interests. But it is dangerous to lose [if one plays on] this wave of the workers' dissatisfaction. And we see, that forces are gathering, trying to direct the workers' movement to the right. So there you have a well fed worker stepping up to the tribunal, who has spent his entire life at presidiums, and who also sounds off "in the name of the working class." Yes, what right does he have to do this? He simply loyally serves those who placed him at those very same presidiums. It is all really so apparent... Especially since I have myself worked at a plant for many years, and, hope, that I know what the workers' genuine views are.

In my view, the main mistake of today's government lies in the fact that it has turned out to be moving continually further away from the people, increasingly regarding them as nothing but a mass that does not understand anything. If there is to be mutual trust between the people and the government—the people will be capable of doing everything.

[Starchevsky] And if there will not be any?

[Pamfilova] I do not believe that it is possible in our country for the left radicals to come into power. Now if a sudden overturn were possible, then only the right wing would be capable [of taking control]. There are leaders for this; generals will be found for it, who will defeat everyone. It is sad that among those in the left and the right wings there have turned out to be people whose only aim is to attack Gorbachev. I do not want to idealize him, but, in my view, in the circumstances of today only a far more conservative figure would be able to replace him. Someone who would not want to cede either his principles, or privileges. Who does not need a market economy and the right to private ownership: [yet] how will authority be exercised, if a man is master of his own land and enterprises?

It seems to me that the time for compromises is over, and to give in to these people in any manner is no longer possible. They will lead the country to an abyss. But I am against the eventuality of the struggle assuming an extreme form; I fear this. There should be tolerance in society; we are in very short supply of it! Let us assume that there will be, since there already are people, of the type, like the Leningrad resident Tyulkin, but only without his chauvinistic stratagems. In society we can have everything, except things involving fascism, with anti-humanistic ideas. People and ideas should argue, but not the apparatuses of power.

[Starchevsky] Do you believe that the 28th congress will give any hopes in that sense?

[Pamfilova] I would like to believe so. Whatever the case may be, many people after the congress will finally define their attitude towards the CPSU. And so will I.

[Starchevsky] But you will not leave the Commission concerning privileges?

[Pamfilova] I will not leave it. Though there was a moment, when I decided—that's it, enough struggling against "superior forces." You fight, fight... But later new letters came; I read them and understood that I will stay on. I will fight. Especially because I have already learned so much, understood, gained an understanding of things. Now we are very hopeful about collaboration with an analogous commission on the Moscow city council. Exactly the same type of commissions in the Higher Council of the RSFSR and other republics will be

created. They are simply indispensable. Especially when, finally, the shift to a new economy will begin. From one side, the liquidation of privileges will help such a shift, but from the other—as long as the economy does not take on civilized features, the privileges can rear up in the most ugly and unthinkable forms and variants.

And still, it seems to me, that our commission should become a permanent one, or perhaps, become a committee of the Higher Council concerning social justice. But the most important thing is that we need a statute, which would obligate all the departments and organs to present needed information to us as soon as we request it. By the way, this disaster is one not only involving our commission, but one that involves the entire Higher Council; really until this very moment, it does not even control the country's budget. So all the entire struggle still lies ahead.



**Leader of Latvia's 'Equality' Faction Outlines Political Goals**

90UN2624A KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII  
in Russian No 6, Jun 90 pp 34-38

[Interview with S. Dimanis, deputy to the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Equality faction, conducted by I. Tikhonova: "We Are Influencing Public Attitudes"]

[Text] [Tikhonova] Sergejs Leonidovich, we have all been attentively following the work of the Latvian parliament. The first days were stormy, sometimes dramatic. And that's understandable—important, fundamental questions were being discussed. Almost immediately, the Equality faction was formed. You became its leader. The magazine's readers will be interested in learning about the faction's positions and its prospects, and about how it will be able to exercise its minority rights and influence the political situation in the republic.

[Dimanis] The faction arose naturally. It includes deputies who promised in their election campaigns to vote for a federation. They did so for various reasons—ethnic, political, social and even emotional. Of course, we have differences among us. For example, we differ on the issue of radical solutions.

The public often pressures us, calling for active resistance, the rejection of laws, and even civil disobedience. It is true that legally speaking our parliament is not entirely legitimate—the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR was elected, and suddenly, two days later, it became the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic. And that was without a referendum, without the expression of the opinion of all the republic's inhabitants on that issue.

For all intents and purposes, the "Declaration on the Restoration on the Independence of the Latvian Republic" declared the parliament illegal. The upshot was an absurdity—the parliament adopted a declaration that put the parliament itself outside the law. Nonetheless, we are trying to form a capable cabinet of ministers and to prevent the influence of destructive forces and discriminatory articles in laws. We are watching out to see that laws in the area of the economy are aimed at the development of the market and free economic structures in the interests of the entire population. After all, people elected us and put their trust in us, and we should protect their interests. On the whole, we intend to work and not quit the parliamentary platform.

Our faction is not a representative of the Interfront. It is purely a habit of the People's Front to lump everyone together. We actively cooperate with various social movements and organizations that support a federation. But parliamentary work is parliamentary work. It should not be confused with the work of a strike committee or the Committee to Protect the Constitution and the Rights of USSR Citizens. Those are different things. I will try to keep the parliamentary channels clear so that

in case of heated situations it will be possible to reach agreement, so that there are no insurmountable barriers between factions.

The majority faction reproaches us for taking active part in the organization of strikes and civil disobedience. But I have constantly reiterated that civil disobedience—both in the case with the Riga militia, and in the case of the strikes that were held—is a reaction to what parliament does. And condemning those actions is, at the very least, ridiculous.

[Tikhonova] Not so long ago you were considered the hope of the economists at Latvian University. And now?

[Dimanis] I don't know what sort of hopes I offered, but I think that the economics division of our esteemed university provides practically no opportunity to realize any sort of hopes. It seems to me that it has fallen into an impasse. What to teach and how to teach it, no one knows. Politics are more important. I am speaking to you absolutely frankly. If we had a free economy and free economic structures, I would create my own educational institution along the lines of an American college and teach people what I myself, along with my friends and others who think the same way, know. But considering that we still have a long way to go before we have free economic formations, I find myself, so to speak, on the sidelines. But I think that we will carry the idea of establishing an Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences through to its conclusion, and then I will engage in teaching, rather than parliamentary work.

Our faction has people who have become the object of real hounding. However, there is no need to dramatize the situation. Any nascent democracy, in my view, goes through a certain stage that, in the American tradition, is called McCarthyism (the persecution of dissent, witch hunts, the prohibition of certain political parties and movements, etc.). Later all this usually disappears and, when people look back on it they feel ashamed. Of course, it is hard to be the object of hounding. But these people are arousing public consciousness.

[Tikhonova] Why don't you reach a rapprochement with your opponents—in particular, on the issue of the declaration?

[Dimanis] There can be no rapprochement there. It is a stumbling block that it is practically impossible to get over. We have different understandings of the same things. In principle, I favor the republic's statehood, and that is absolutely natural, since we have a right to it under the Constitution—both the USSR Constitution and the Latvian Constitution. Until now the republic has been, at best, an autonomous cultural and national entity, while the Union has been a unitarian, totalitarian state.

Now we talk a lot about the renewal of the federation, while for all intents and purposes it needs to be created anew. It should be clearly stated in law that a republic is a state and must be treated like a state. When all the



republics affirm their statehood, they will inevitably come together in Moscow to discuss what to do next. We cannot get by without each other, since we have long since been bound by a division of labor based on individual items and technologies. Of course, the union is not a market in the contemporary understanding of the term, since vertical, rather than horizontal, ties dominate. But we want to convert those verticals to horizontals right now, which is giving rise to a mass of general problems. What is needed is a common parliament modeled on the European parliament, a president who would sort out the inevitable conflict situations, and certain government structures.

It's only now that it seems unnecessary to have anything in the center. When we start to bargain, the common interest will only grow stronger. We already have developed a common system of mutual interests. Many people say that everything can be resolved on a bilateral basis. That is not exactly true. On a linear level we won't solve anything. We need a three-dimensional holographic structure for the construction of a union state. If there is no common government, we won't know where Western Siberia's oil and Kemerovo's coal will end up. Certain common procedures are also needed in spheres of free trade in a union market. Naturally, common interests in politics will arise.

With the adoption of the declaration, which essentially cancelled out 50 years lived together, insurmountable barriers have arisen on the path to a union market. Some people consider those 50 years a bad dream. But during those years economic structures, political traditions, and people have been formed. Of course, one can mock "homo Sovieticus." But people who are patriots of their village, city and republic and, at the same time, of the union as a whole exist in reality. I am physically unable to think solely in the categories of the republic and am continually slipping into more universal categories. The marriage with the union has occurred (let's not argue here about its legality). There are common children and common property, which means that a civil marriage exists. And that's the basis on which we must proceed. The declaration is a holiday, but by no means a guide to action.

[Tikhonova] Despite a promise not to "vote with their feet," the faction left the hall. Were such actions justified at the very outset of work?

[Dimanis] I said that we would not conduct ourselves destructively. These are different things. I believe that by "voting with our feet" we were very constructive, and that it was the majority faction that proved destructive. To vote for V. Skudra as minister of internal affairs under conditions in which the militia had come out unequivocally against him was simply incautious and could have led to fairly serious consequences.

The fact that we were compelled to "vote with our feet" only confirms that the minority has practically no rights in this parliament. And such a role has been prepared for

it because there is no set of rules protecting those rights. Such rules exist in every civilized parliament, and they occupy dozens of pages, where everything, including the position of the minority, is spelled out down to the details, and the minority's abilities and rights are clearly defined. For example, 20 deputies may demand an open, roll-call vote, and 20 deputies may demand a closed vote. If both opinions are expressed simultaneously, priority goes to the closed vote, which is always in the minority's interest. Or, say, the representatives of all factions serve on the bureau or, according to our system, on the Presidium. If we had a civilized parliament, the leader of a faction would be a member of the Presidium. Consequently, processes would be controlled in the interests of a third of the population. Another example. In the West, after their election the chairman of the parliament and his deputies cease their activities in the faction from which they have been elected. The rules contains dozens of such provisions protecting the interests of the citizens by whom the minority has been elected.

[Tikhonova] Tell me, is such a thing possible in our case?

[Dimanis] Thanks to our efforts, such a set of rules is starting to be drawn up. V. Alksnis and I are on the commission for drafting them. Such experienced jurists as A. Plotnieks and A. Endzins are serving on it.

[Tikhonova] Will anyone from your faction be represented on the government?

[Dimanis] It must be said that our present democracy (like our former one, by the way) is characterized by the majority's cruel suppression of the minority. Therefore, we cannot even get the deputy chairmen of parliamentary commissions elected from our faction, not to mention having someone from the faction chair one of them. But right now an interesting situation has developed: difficulties have arisen in making appointments for certain government positions. You can imagine, there are unpopular ministries.

[Tikhonova] For example?

[Dimanis] The Ministry of Industry, say.

[Tikhonova] But is there anyone in your faction who would put such a difficult burden on himself?

[Dimanis] No. However, on that matter the majority faction consulted with us. Right now it is easy to find people to assume ministerial positions where money is spent, but for ministries where the money is earned, there are few who want the jobs. After all, in addition to skills gained through experience, they require an enormous amount of hard work.

Incidentally, I have noticed the following tendency: In reply to the question, "Did you join a civic committee?", the most prestigious applicants for ministerial positions answered: "No." The weaker individuals respond positively.

[Tikhonova] The first meetings of the standing deputies' commissions have been held. You are on one of them. How did those meetings go? Will you manage to reach any sort of agreement?

[Dimanis] On our economics commission we examined several draft laws. There is a lot of work, since a mass of economic problems lie ahead. They include the economic mechanism, market relations, statistics, and so forth. In addition, we discussed the draft law on the deputy's status. In that connection a ticklish question arose as to what the deputy's salary would be. The legal commission is supposed to consult with us on this question.

[Tikhonova] How did you assess such difficult work?

[Dimanis] Let's think about it together. Have you noticed that the local bodies of authority have set colossal salaries for themselves lately? Their staffs have been incredibly inflated. And if one takes that as a basis, a parliamentarian should receive at least 700 rubles. Incidentally, in the West members of parliament have substantial salaries. In our country, on the other hand, many high-paid specialists suffer a financial loss by serving on the Supreme Soviet. If they are not provided additional pay, they will seek earnings on the side, and the commissions will remain half-empty. Yet if you pay them 700 rubles, will the people understand? After all, a huge number of people in our country can barely make ends meet. The issue has still not been resolved. All this confirms once again that parliamentary democracy is not implanted but develops over a long period of time.

[Tikhonova] But what should be done in our case?

[Dimanis] I think that the permanently operating Supreme Soviet should be cut in half, to 100 members. Its present large size stems from the fact that rural districts were broken up for political reasons. Now it turns out that it will be costly to maintain 200 deputies.

[Tikhonova] Who from your faction will serve on the conciliation commission that will conduct negotiations in Moscow? What will its first steps be?

[Dimanis] Let's hope that representatives of the opposition will serve on the commission. But it will be formed by the government, not the parliament. At least, that is what I. Godmanis is insisting on. The whole question is whether Moscow will talk with us. In the present situation, I don't think it will. On the other hand, for reasons of prestige, our parliament cannot renounce the Declaration of Independence, either. That is clear to everyone. There's only one way out—we must, figuratively speaking, create a situation in which it's as though Moscow takes no notice of the declaration, and we forget about it. Such a situation of "independence" can be created by a real joint search for a way out of the economic impasse. On the other hand, if we keep constantly reiterating, "Independence!" we won't move a step forward. It is entirely possible that the price of

negotiations may be the full or partial resignation of the present cabinet of ministers.

[Tikhonova] Sergejs Leonidovich, I would like to ask you several questions pertaining directly to you personally. It is said that before working in the university you were a party functionary, and then you took up politics once again. What underlies such metamorphoses?

[Dimanis] I studied economics long and persistently. But I could not understand why our economic system moved at all. According to my calculations, theoretically it should be at a standstill. I got the suspicion that the party agencies played some sort of a role in this case. Hypothetically I conjectured that they performed the role of a whip, of a driver. It was important to understand how this was done, and I decided to become a party committee employee in order to see how politics influenced the economy. And so at the time I went to the staff of the Kirov Party Raykom to see A. Gorbunovs and asked to be hired for two years. It was a purely scientific experiment. Things have worked out in such a way that permanent scientific experiments are going on in my life. Recently, for example, I tried to establish a joint enterprise. It was unsuccessful, but I acquired a mass of positive information. I have gained useful knowledge that way many times in my life.

[Tikhonova] Is your service on the Supreme Soviet an experiment too?

[Dimanis] No. I joined the parliament for the simple reason that I did not like the laws pertaining to the economy that the former government had written.

[Dimanis] So your point of departure was the economy?

[Dimanis] Yes. But now I realize that the situation in the republic is very complicated. If it is not stabilized, a confrontation is inevitable. Therefore, I deemed that it was necessary to take a definite political stand, in order to influence political processes. The parliamentary platform, especially now, is a fairly powerful tool.

[Tikhonova] And do you believe that you are having an influence? After all, the minority faction's proposals are doomed to defeat in advance.

[Dimanis] Not always, but today that's not the main thing. I believe that our faction is influencing public attitudes and shaping public opinion, and doing so fairly successfully, I think. After all, after several weeks of debates in the parliament, many people heard for the very first time something different from what the People's Front press is continually reiterating. For many people it was a revelation. People heard that different opinions and arguments exist. It's too bad, of course, that many in our faction make their speeches only in Russian.

[Tikhonova] It is now being said that the haste in adopting the Declaration of Independence was dictated by the fact that Moscow will do everything in its power to block the Baltic republics' self-determination. It is

said that the conservatives in the center will not permit the Baltics' freedom. What do you think on this score?

[Dimanis] These forces do exist, but they can be defeated, and defeated primarily by taking advantage of the democratic movement in Russia itself. Yet events in the Baltics that have raised a threat to the very existence of the union are giving M. Gorbachev's opponents the opportunity to turn perestroika back. I believe that we will only provoke the antidemocratic forces by taking ill-considered steps.

In addition, fairly radical views are developing in the center as to how we should henceforth live, and what our union should be like. We must help establish these views and initiate specific actions together. By attempting to free ourselves here, while abandoning the other republics to the whims of fate, we will only worsen our own situation. We must do everything we can to make everyone free. And then we ourselves will be free.

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#### **Book on Western Sovietologists' View of Baltic Development Reviewed**

90UN2624B Riga KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII in Russian No 6, Jun 90 pp 100-102

[Review by Yu. Saulitis, candidate of economic sciences, of book "Kriticheskiy analiz sovetologicheskikh traktovok razvitiya Sovetskoy Pribaltiki" (Critical Analysis of Sovietologists' Interpretations of the Soviet Baltic Republics' Development), by A. N. Fedotov, Moscow, 1989, 185 pages]

[Text] Today, when society is reinterpreting the path it has traversed, the evaluation of our development by Western scholars is of great interest. We obviously should approach the analysis of their work somewhat differently than was done before. Although any social science reflects certain views, it simultaneously reflects tendencies in the development of real life. Therefore, it seems to us that it is more important now to see in the works of Western Sovietologists the analysis of those tendencies in our development that we ourselves previously failed to notice or did not want to see. Proceeding from this premise, let us analyze A. Fedotov's book, "Kriticheskiy analiz sovetologicheskikh traktovok razvitiya Sovetskoy Pribaltiki."

In the first chapter the author examines the principal features of the present stage in the development of Sovietology, and the structure and evolution of the discipline. The two most general tendencies in the interpretation of the socialist economy in Sovietologists' works are identified: the first tendency defines the socialist economy as a "command" economy, and the second is represented by the theories of "industrial" and "postindustrial" society and "convergence" of the two socioeconomic systems. Let us note that the majority of

Soviet authors also assess our economy as a command and administrative economy.

A. Fedotov's work notes that the development and spread of Sovietological theories has taken place on several functional levels reflecting Sovietologists' differentiated approach to their specific audiences. For all intents and purposes, this is a scholarly approach to ideological work. The author believes that Sovietology is the discipline most oriented toward government.

And what about our social sciences? Haven't they been bound to official ideological postulates in the worst possible fashion? Dissatisfaction arises in reading the pages where the author seemingly criticizes Sovietologists of the 1940s and 1950s, but does not cite a single specific example or a single work. The reader has the right to draw completely different conclusions in reading, for example, the following words in the book: "In order to accomplish practical tasks, Sovietology has been forced to strive for the reliability of the information and conclusions it represents. ... Considering the competition, mutual control, and openness of debate among bourgeois authors, one can assume that political and ideological prejudice affects Sovietologists' conclusions only to a limited extent. ... the lack of openness in our own writings, the weak orientation of scholarship toward the disclosure and study of existing problems, and the hold-up in solving them, has left to Sovietologists the advantage of illusory 'discoverers'" (p 21). One wonders just why they are "illusory" discoverers, if our own scholars have circumvented the awkward phenomena of our reality?

Later on the same chapter analyzes the reasons for Sovietologists' increased attention to the regional and nationality question in the Soviet Union, and the system of research centers for Baltics research in the West. While rightfully criticizing Sovietologists who claim the exploitation of the national republics, the author seemingly fails to notice the discussion that has been conducted in our own literature, and even in the Supreme Soviet, on these and other issues (the problem of economic effectiveness, the advantages of the planned economy, etc.).

A. Fedotov is right in his admission that "...one of the growing contradictions in the development of the socialist economy was the contradiction between departmental and territorial interests...." He shows quite persuasively that under the domination of the centralized administrative-command system, an oversimplified and essentially one-sided interpretation developed of the formula for combining the republics' national and internationality interests, and that starting in the late 1960s they lost the vestiges of economic independence, and the declared objective of consistently expanding the union republics' rights and initiative was not accomplished in the 1970s and 1980s.

The author believes that in looking at the questions of the Baltic republics' economic independence it is more



correct to speak of their desire to resolve the questions of economic development themselves, than to speak of self-isolation, since it is contrary to their economic interests and does not accord with the trends in world development.

In the second chapter A. Fedotov analyzes Sovietologists' views on the problems of reproduction as viewed from the regional perspective. This discussion is supplemented by the author's analysis of these problems in the Baltic republics and comparison of them from a republic-to-republic standpoint to the country as a whole. He devotes his main attention to the process of industrialization and its attendant social and demographic problems.

It seems that a critique of Latvia's and Estonia's accelerated industrial development can be approached in different ways: If one looks at the republics as part of a unified whole (in the economic, social and other senses), this process is economically warranted. But if one looks at them from the standpoint of independent states, it must be admitted that in many respects the process of forced industrial development did not accord with the republics' interests and gave rise to a number of socioeconomic, nationality, demographic and environmental problems. The book under review offers a criticism of those Soviet authors who believe that the Baltics' accelerated industrialization was directed at evening out levels of economic and social development and bringing those of the formerly backward republics closer to the levels of the more developed ones.

A. Fedotov shows that the opinion concerning the lag of the Baltic republics, especially Latvia and Estonia, is mistaken. From the first postwar five-year plans the development of industry in Latvia and Estonia ran considerably ahead of plans that were high to start with. That can be attributed first of all to the interests of the union ministries, which strived to attain rapid results with the least possible outlays (pp 75, 79). Consequently, in the formation of the republics' industrial structure, serious blunders were made, which we ourselves now acknowledge.

Sovietologists devote considerable attention to the question of the redistribution of national income among regions. Naturally, the monograph's author also accords that problem great importance. Since a substantial portion of the turnover tax and part of the tax on the population and other deductions collected in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania go into the union budget, the Sovietologists believe that this is a case of exploitation of the republics by the center.

One cannot help agreeing with A. Fedotov, who believes that in the context of a single national economy, strict equivalence in interrepublic exchange is not always possible. After all, any federal state has a federal budget for financing statewide needs. But at the same time it is clear that a country must not have a situation in which all the republics are indebted to one another, there is no

real connection between a republic's performance results and its level of material well-being, etc. The monograph's author finds no explanation of why for decades our republic has had the lowest percentage of deductions from the turnover tax going to the republic budget, etc.

In order to eliminate mutual reproaches, it seems to us that it is necessary to revise the price system and gradually move to the settlement of mutual accounts on the basis of world prices. A. Fedotov, of course, is right in acknowledging the properness of redistributing the national income, and the fact that it should be carried out with the strict observance of both statewide interests and the interests of each republic (p 96).

In their works Sovietologists do not circumvent such an acute problem as the inequality in levels of socioeconomic development among individual republics and regions of the country. A. Fedotov critically examines this problem, too, and in a number of cases offers his own interpretation of it. He emphasizes the difference between the content of this problem in our country and its content in the developed capitalist countries. The analysis he makes shows that a process whereby individual regions and republics grew increasingly similar occurred until the 1960s, but it subsequently slowed down, and in the 1980s a process began whereby regional differences grew greater, which is resulting in an aggravation of social and nationality conflicts in the country.

The third chapter of the monograph looks at the problems of the reproduction of labor resources in the Baltics as interpreted by Sovietologists. Here A. Fedotov reveals the reasons for the change in the ethnic composition of the populations of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, taking into account the actual demographic situation in these republics in the 1920s and 1930s. He notes that spontaneous migration on its present scale is resulting in a further complication of socioeconomic problems and a sharp deterioration in relations among nationalities. In A. Fedotov's opinion, the postwar immigration to the Baltic region cannot be called accidental—after all, industrial development in the region was undertaken deliberately, and the demographic situation was predictable (p 120). He singles out three extremely important points in the analysis of this process: (1) the change in the absolute size of the Baltic nations; (2) the change in the ethnic composition of a republic's population; and (3) the possibility of the Baltic nations' assimilation and loss of their national awareness (p 132).

It must be admitted that in the analysis of these problems the Sovietologists are in many respects right: the changes in ethnic composition that have taken place in Latvia and Estonia really are the source of concern and discontent among indigenous nations facing the fact of a drastic change in their whole ethnic and cultural environment, and facing the immediate prospect of becoming minorities on their own historic territories (p 137).



The chapter devoted to alternative models of the Baltic region's development are of great interest. I share the author's view that one must get away from oversimplifications in evaluating the Baltic states' socioeconomic development in the 1920s and 1930s, and that an objective evaluation is needed in elucidating historical truth, avoiding extremes and one-sidedness—both the unwarranted extolling of the past, and the unwarranted disparagement of the results of development in the 1920s and 1930s. And until recently the latter tendency was characteristic of our scholarly literature. It is impossible, however, not to note that the author himself does not always manage to follow this correct principle.

Thus, the analysis given on pp 148-149 of industrial development in the 1920s and 1930s shows that by 1939 Latvia's industry had not attained the level of 1913. Is that bad? But if one looks at the dynamics of industrial development (p 178), whereby the average annual growth from 1920 through 1939 constituted 10.5 percent, the situation proves different. The author is right in that the structure of industry really did change: the proportion of the metal-working, machinery and chemical industries declined, while that of light industry, the food industry and the wood-processing industries rose. Yet it is the development of precisely those industries that signifies a growth in the satisfaction of consumer needs, especially since the bulk of their output was produced for the internal market. And finally, if one looks at the structure of exports of Latvia in the 1930s and of the USSR today, one can draw the conclusion that both states stand approximately on the same level of economic development.

The author's analysis of the development of agriculture in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia shows that, despite certain contradictions, a substantial growth in output volumes was achieved (p 157).

One can agree to a certain extent with the opinion that indices of per capita production characterize not so much the effectiveness of an economy as the direction of its specialization (p 162), that labor productivity today is higher, etc. But the main thing is the level of consumption and in the 1920s and 1930s it was higher than in the USSR and a number of European countries (p 172).

A. Fedotov conducts a fairly thorough analysis of the comparative development of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia vis-a-vis the Scandinavian countries; it shows that the level of development of the latter in the 1930s was higher than that of the Baltics, especially in industry and in national income (p 170). But in productivity of animal husbandry, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia lagged behind the leading countries much less in the 1930s than they do today (pp 168-169). Their level of education was also high, medical care was fairly decent, etc. Of course, one can debate whether the Baltic states' economies would have achieved the level of the Scandinavian countries' economies. But it must be admitted that the lag in their development has increased in comparison to the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the fact that in those

years Latvia occupied the leading positions among the three Baltic states, whereas it now lags behind Estonia and Lithuania in many positions. And that is arousing justifiable concern among its indigenous population.

A. Fedotov thinks that the most correct approach is to compare the development of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania to that of Finland, although he also believes that the "Finnish alternative" is insufficiently realistic for the Baltic republics (p 179). If one acknowledges the specific features of Finland's development and the significance of its ties with the USSR, the question still arises: Why has independent Finland achieved impressive results, while Latvia, integrated into the USSR, has remained far behind and lost its former positions?

The author is right in saying that the socioeconomic problems of relations among the republics are complex. But it seems to us that relations between the Baltic republics and the center are even more complex, since it is impossible to regulate them merely by clarifying the issues of interrepublic exchange, etc. The resolution of any issues requires, as the monograph correctly notes, careful consideration and patience, which experience shows that we do not always have enough of.

One should note A. Fedotov's endeavor to abandon obsolete stereotypes in the evaluation of Sovietological concepts. But unfortunately, he does not always succeed in avoiding stereotypes and labels (especially in Chapter I). The work also contains some repetitiousness and some expressions that, in our view, are not entirely apt.

I recommend reading A. Fedotov's work to anyone who is interested in the socioeconomic history of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and in the prospects for their development. It enriches the subject with new knowledge. But in reading it, let us reserve the right to hold different views on a number of issues.

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#### Gorbunovs on Latvia's Nonparticipation in Union Treaty

90UN2657A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
8 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic: "Answer to the Open Letter of the 'Equality' Deputies' Faction"]

[Text] On July 26, 1990 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet adopted the decree "On the Position On Participating in Working Out and Adopting the Union Treaty". The basic provisions of this decree were also included in the Declaration of the Council of Baltic States of July 27, 1990, in which it was also stated that the authorized representatives of the Baltic states, including the Latvian Republic, have not participated in drawing up the USSR Union Treaty and do not consider future participation in this process to be possible.

The Presidium's decree and the subsequent Declaration of the Council of Baltic States fully conform to the legal status of the Latvian Republic and the political situation in both the Latvian Republic and the remaining Baltic states.

Without question, the Latvian Republic is an independent state, as defined by the Declaration of May 4, 1990. But it also cannot be disputed that the Union of the SSR has not restored recognition of our independent statehood *de jure* and is undertaking no steps to regularize the interstate relations of the USSR and the Latvian Republic, which could lead to the establishment of our country's *de facto* independence.

Only after the actual restoration of state independence will the Latvian Republic also be able to realize its sovereignty under Art. 6 of the Constitution (*Satversme*) of the Latvian Republic; after the Latvian Republic's citizens have held a nationwide election, the decision is theoretically possible on a national union with the USSR or any other country. The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic is not authorized to undertake such a step.

But at present the first task is to attain the full state independence of the Latvian Republic in a democratic fashion, including actively preparing and holding negotiations with the USSR.

The tactic of the Latvian Republic's Supreme Soviet in this process is laid out in the decree on interstate relations with the USSR, which defines the principles for friendly, mutually beneficial and equal relations of two independent states: the USSR and the Latvian Republic.

The Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the Latvian Republic have established friendly relations with many union republics of the USSR. Interstate treaties could be signed in the very near future with the RSFSR and the Moldova SSR; other, primarily economic treaties are being prepared, which will make it possible to not only preserve, but also expand existing ties in all oblasts.

The Latvian Republic does not need to analyze its development inside and outside the USSR. Such an analysis has been under way for 50 years, with a well-known result: Latvia has chosen to restore its state independence.

We are waiting for the USSR to recognize this choice. Such a recognition can only be achieved in negotiations between equal partners, between two independent states, not in negotiations on a new Union.

#### **Rubiks on Yeltsin Visit, 'Anticommunist' Campaign**

90UN2657B Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
8 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by I. Kharlanova, from the press center of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee: "The Congress Will Duly Judge Its Offspring..."]

[Text] Meeting of delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee A.P. Rubiks, with Party members of Riga's Proletarskiy rayon.

This post-congress meeting, by far not the last in the series, was unlike any other, as has been true of each preceding one. And primarily because, like the preceding ones, it involved the full multifaceted nature of current events. Yet the days, following one after the other, are so unrepeatable in the maelstrom of political passions...

One of the "facets" of today is that the naked anticommunist campaign has been raised another notch in the republic. And what is noteworthy is that its leaders have chosen as an argument the justification that the 28th CPSU Congress was a forum of unfulfilled hopes.

Responding to these opponents, A.P. Rubiks noted in his opening remarks:

"These attacks have the same openly demagogic nature as in the past. I have been asking some of my opponents what they would like to have seen happen at the Congress? And they have nothing to answer. I assume they wanted the breakup of the Party, yet that did not take place. That is the root of the hysteria, whose goal is to belittle the historical significance of the forum of the country's Communists. Years will pass before there is agreement that it was special in the history of the Party and of the entire society. And above all because it consolidated the Party to withstand those forces wishing to erase the socialist choice at one swoop, along with everything connected with it for decades. Consolidated in order to lead the people along the previously chosen but now substantially corrected path: that of socialism. To those who maintain that the Congress yielded no results, I say that the Congress not only preserved the Party, but also provided a program of action. To support it is the task of each Communist. If we continue to maintain a wait-and-see attitude, to divide into parties, to passively look on while Communists, and the Party as a whole, are persecuted, then our descendants will of course be justified in asserting that the CPSU Congress did not fulfill its tasks..."

A concrete political fact of the present which the meeting (held August 2) also addressed was the visit to the republic of the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, B.N. Yeltsin, which is now ending. A whole group of questions addressed to A.P. Rubiks thus touched on this event.

[Kharlanova] Your opinion of the visit of B.N. Yeltsin to Latvia, and of Yeltsin's policies overall?

[Rubiks] My evaluation is based on his expressed purpose in visiting the republic: to create a unified front of Russia and the Baltics, in order to jointly pressure the center. As though such bravado will not boomerang on Boris Nikolayevich himself. After all, no less complex processes are under way in Russia as within the Union:

the exit of certain autonomous oblasts and republics from Russia is also possible; it is obvious that the frightful phenomenon of Russian nationalism is also growing... As for Yeltsin's policies, I would not be hasty with my judgments. The people like to say that one should not count their chickens before they're hatched... Let Yeltsin do something to achieve the actual transition to a regulated market economy, then we'll judge him...

[Kharlanova] Did you, Alfred Petrovich, meet with B.N. Yeltsin or have any other contact with him?

[Rubiks] No, I did not; after all, as you know he has left the CPSU... I know that the "Equality" deputies' faction expressed an interest in meeting with him, but he refused...

[Kharlanova] Do you feel it necessary that the "Equality" faction participate in concluding a treaty between Latvia and Russia?

[Rubiks] Yes, I do...

[Kharlanova] Won't the Union Treaty break down if Latvia concludes a treaty with Russia?

[Rubiks] No, I don't think so. In a union such as the USSR, relations must be built on a legal foundation, both among republics and between the center and the republics. Let's say the center refuses to take on the job of distributing the automobiles produced by an individual republic. On the other hand, only the center can solve the question of the country's defense in conjunction with all the republics. We should not be so naive as to assume that it is becoming less urgent. The USA is currently testing a new antimissile device capable of neutralizing an enemy's actions from space. The mere fact of a treaty between Latvia and Russia cannot prevent the strengthening of the Union if it is built on a reasonable foundation...

[Kharlanova] There are two major policies opposing each other today in the political arena: Gorbachev and Yeltsin. How do you feel relations between them will develop in the future?

[Rubiks] I assume they will draw closer together. And a confirmation of this is the decision to create a working group to develop the concept of the country's transition to a regulated market economy based on the Russian model.

During the conversation, the audience also reacted to the visit to the USA of I. Godmanis and J. Jurkans.

"They also did not succeed in getting from the United States what the Lithuanians were unable to get," said A.P. Rubiks, responding to a request to state his opinion of the visit. "Namely, recognition of the independence of the present-day Latvia outside the Union of the SSR and obtaining on this basis some sort of assistance, bypassing Gorbachev's policies. Bush doesn't need Godmanis or Rubiks, he needs Mikhail Sergeyevich. The world is not interested in redrawing borders..."

And again the question on today's agenda:

[Kharlanova] Your evaluation of the President's Decree on Disbanding Armed Organizations?

[Rubiks] It's too late. I spoke in Moscow of the need for such a measure, at the "Union" deputies' association two or three months ago, linking the creation of such organizations with the danger of civil war. It's hard to predict how effective the Decree will be today, since there is simply no experience today in disarming some 150,000 Armenian fighters... In our republic, some people are asserting that the ayzsargi is an unarmed organization. But where is the guarantee that it will not become armed tomorrow?

The social discomfort of certain groups in the population is also obvious today. This prompted the question to the Congress delegate: "What awaits the Russian-speaking population if the conditions of the times of bourgeois Latvia are established?" "A solitary—unenviable—fate awaits both Russians and Latvians," was the answer. "If the land goes to the "kungs", then "kalps" will also be necessary... Read A. Upita and V. Latsis, which show well such a future for most of the population of present-day Latvia..."

As always, there was a question about the intention to compromise the leader of the Latvian Communist Party: "You have cited figures in the press that in the elections for the republic parliament 35.5 percent of the votes went to the NFL [Latvian Popular Front]; considering that 40 percent of the population did not vote at all, the Communists received only 24.5 percent..."

"Yes, the article's author knows his math well," parried A.P. Rubiks. "We do not dispute our defeat in the elections; this is also evidenced by the number of our mandates in the parliament. In citing the number 35.5, we want to stress that the People's Front faction in the parliament does not have the right to resolve the question of leaving the USSR; it must be solved by the people through a referendum..."

This is not the first example, Alfreds Petrovich went on, where the position of the republic's Communists is deliberately distorted. They stubbornly want to make us into enemies of the Latvian people, who are allegedly opposed to Latvia's independence. We also support it, but we are opposed to the manner in which the NFL wants to achieve it. We favor obtaining independence within the USSR, which they have not expressed once in their platform.

The rayon's Communists also received the Congress delegate's impressions of the path the CPSU will follow in its further development. "In all probability, it will become a union of Communist Parties preserving their ideological and organizational unity..." Should it share its property with other parties? "No. To "share" by leasing or renting out, fine..." Since the percentage of membership dues payments has been reduced, how does the party of Communists intend to support itself? "That



is precisely the question that I have been handling," Alfreds Petrovich responded, "in defending in the new Charter the provision that a Communist is a person who materially supports the Party. A return to the Leninist formulation will provide Communists the opportunity to give to the Party not only their dues, but also financial contributions..."

"Not only on this question, but on many other especially difficult ones as well, the opinion of the Latvian CP delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress was listened to closely during the entire 11 days of the forum," noted at the end of the meeting the first secretary of the Proletarskiy raykom of the Latvian Communist Party, A.N. Belukha, also a Congress delegate. "For the entire course of the Congress demonstrated that the Latvian Communist Party has surpassed the communist parties of many other union republics in gaining experience in working under new conditions, being an opposition party."

"The task now is to take this experience and work out a program of action at the concluding session of the 15th Latvian CP Congress," stressed A.P. Rubiks. "One that will be convincing for both workers and Communists, for the majority of the republic's population. And then, based on this program, bring change into the workers' daily lives for which they have waited so long. And then our offspring can truly say that the 28th CPSU Congress was a special milestone in the history of the Communist Party, of our socialist society, in the construction of a truly democratic, humanitarian and civilized life."

#### **Rubiks Speaks at Latvian-Belorussian Rally**

90UN2653A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
7 Aug 90 p 1

[Speech by A.P. Rubiks and article by SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA Correspondent P. Senkov: "Let Reason Prevail: A Friendship Rally Between Latvia and Belorussia"]

#### **[Text] Let Reason Prevail: A Friendship Rally Between Latvia and Belorussia**

August 3 does not signify a memorial day or holiday on our calendar. But nevertheless, hundreds of people from Verkhnedvinskiy and Kraslavskiy, Daugavpilsskiy, Preylskiy, Ludzenskiy, and Rezeknenskiy Rayons gathered on precisely that day for a friendship rally.

It is true that it was not conducted on the central square or at some other conveniently located site, but on the Latvian-Belorussian border itself where dozens of buses and cars and also simply pedestrians were headed, having interrupted travel for a certain amount of time and having even postponed the most urgent field work right now.

Just what compelled people to so unanimously come here to the site where the Latvian-Belorussian borders intersect? Fortunately it is not another border conflict

which we all learned about with alarm on July 21st when a group of citizens from our republic set up border markers with the Latvian coat of arms approximately 1,400 meters from the officially recognized border, thus restoring the "Republic's state sovereignty at the 1939 borders."

The activities of the participants in this action evoked a sharp protest not only from the official organs of power on the Belorussian side but from thousands of residents of neighboring republics who stated that not policy extremists but those who live here and whose fates are tied by thousands of historical threads should determine its future. That is why they also came to this site where the Latvian-Belorussian border stretches across green fields and copses and along sky-blue threads of rivers and lakes. They did not come with saws and axes as the others did on July 21st but with flowers, slogans, and signs about peace and friendship. And these types of guests are always welcome on both sides of the border. Therefore, young girls in ethnic costumes also greeted workers collective delegations, veterans of war, and young people with bread and salt.

Verkhnedvinskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Chairman and Belorussian SSR People's Deputy V. Andreychenko opened the friendship rally. Then Kraslavskiy Rayonsviet Chairman V. Kokorish approached the microphone.

"Our border has been a border of friendship and mutual understanding since time immemorial," said Viktor Alfonovich. "It was consolidated during the joint struggle with Fascism and fraternal relations between our peoples grew stronger and developed during the postwar period and not only in the economic area. The people of our neighboring villages know each other by name and many of them are related by family. We highly value this friendship. Unfortunately, our relations were damaged by the illegal activities of extremists on July 21st. We realize this and we offer our apologies. I am certain that our border will also remain the border of friendship in the future. This is the greatest value which will resist any considerations of momentary advantage and we will always stand for friendship between our peoples.

Belorussian CP Vitebsk Obkom Secretary and Oblast Soviet Deputy Iosif Adamovich Naumchik spoke with this same definite and clear position. He said that Russians, Belorussians, Latvians, and representatives of other nationalities have lived on this land in peace and friendship for centuries. Each of these peoples developed their own culture and language here, had their own traditions, consolidated friendship and unity among all peoples, and valued that which binds and not which separates people.

"And recently," stressed the speaker, "we once again stated, at Kurgan of Friendship which is near here, the need to consolidate the unity of our Soviet State. Unfortunately, there are forces that are ready to set fire to all of



this. But I think that reason and friendship will prevail which our great Poets Ya. Raynis and Ya. Kupala already so clearly demonstrated to all of us in the 1930's. We need to do everything to strengthen the Soviet State and not to destroy it. Our Belorussian SSR recently announced that it is a sovereign state but we will strive to live in the renewed Soviet federation and we express our solidarity with the communists of Latvia. I believe that fraternal support of each other will help us strengthen the Union and all of us will live in the good harmonious family of the country's peoples.

And, prior to the beginning of the rally, I and Belorussian Radio Correspondent Nina Antonovna Ledenko noticed an elderly veteran of the Great Patriotic War with the Star of a Hero of the Soviet Union on his chest. Because it was immediately obvious that the thoughts of the veteran, who until the border conflict had lived between the two neighboring republics, were not nearly joyful. We got acquainted. He turned out to be Daugavpils Drive Chain Plant Worker Georgiy Nikolayevich Dokuchayev.

"You must also write down my opinion, as they now say, as a living witness of the war," he immediately said during our conversation, having learned that correspondents from the two neighboring republics stood before him. "My heart aches when I see that they want us to return to the Middle Ages, to place the border under lock and key, and to interfere with people's free association. I am a participant of the most terrible war and together with my comrades defended and liberated from Fascism equally native Russian and Ukrainian, Belorussian and Baltic, and Moldavian cities and villages while saving people of various nationalities from the Fascist plague. Can we really forget that and delete it from history? They are removing border markers throughout the entire civilized world and a united Europe and a common European home is being created. But it is just the opposite here. We even want to fence ourselves off with markers from a neighboring union republic, markers that have already been named "markers of strife" among the people. It is impossible to live that way today, it is death.

According to the approving remarks from the people surrounding the veteran, we see that these thoughts have found understanding among all of the conversation's participants both from the Belorussian and from the Latvian side. It only remains to hope that the opinion of a man who survived thanks to friendship and that they will remember and can describe to their descendants how important unity of people is and that it will be heard by all. As, of course, also the opinions of other friendship rally participants at the Latvian-Belorussian border.

On this day, Verkhnedvinskiy Rayon Soviet of Veterans of War and Labor Deputy Chairman S. Kazachonok, Kraslavskiy Rayon Daugav Kolkhoz Veterans Soviet Chairman A. Spalvis, Sovetskaya Latvija and Zavety Il'icha neighboring Kolkhoz Chairmen Yu. Ivanov and V. Marsharskiy, Daugavpils Gorsoviet Deputy G. Malakhov, and others stepped up to the microphone. All of

them spoke about the inviolable friendship between the peoples of Latvia and Belorussia and condemned the attempts of Latvian Popular Front and other extremist organization representatives to carry out an illegal revision of existing borders and to introduce discord in interethnic relations.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member, Latvian CP Central Committee First Secretary, and USSR and Latvian Republic People's Deputy A.P. Rubiks spoke before friendship rally participants.

In conclusion, friendship rally participants at the Latvian-Belorussian border adopted a resolution which stressed that inviolable bonds of friendship and fraternal mutual assistance link the peoples of Latvia and Belorussia. They condemned the attempts directed at the illegal revision of the two republics existing borders and stated that the friendship of the Latvian and Belorussian peoples will also develop and strengthen in the future. It was announced that any illegal activities by any formations or individuals whatsoever that harm our society and the existing socio-political order or that inflame nationalism and separatism must be immediately terminated.

Rally participants solemnly stated that they would spare no effort to fight for the unity of the USSR and the renewed socialist federation. They appealed to the governments of their republics to actively become involved in the work on preparation of the new union treaty.

This Kray always was the "eternal border." Russians saw in it the border of Western Rus, the Poles—the north of the Rzeczpospolita [Kingdom of Poland] and in the 15th-18th Centuries], the Germans—the eastern limits of German culture and history, and the Latvians—their own ethnographic preserve. And each of these peoples was correct to some degree. Naturally, Latgali even right now is perceived as the Kray of many peoples—Russians, Latvians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Jews. They can be mistaken to some degree but the main thing is that no one casts stones of resentment, injustice, and misunderstanding on their life's path right now. Truly, as they say, this is the time to gather stones.

#### A.P. Rubiks' Speech

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, I cordially welcome you, all participants of this meeting, each of you who came here with hope for consolidation of the fraternal ties between our republics and the peoples who reside on their territories!

I came to this rally to announce, on behalf of the Latvian CP Central Committee, nonconurrence with some of our individual fellow countrymen's attempts to set up border markers between Latvian and Belorussia. We do not agree not because borders do not exist between our republics. They exist but there is only one border marker on it and it is the one located at Kurgan of Friendship located nearby. It symbolizes not a border that separates

peoples but one that unites them. It symbolizes friendship and it symbolizes those ideals for which our peoples have struggled while cleansing the soil of Fascism and while dreaming of peace and friendship. Our peoples have paid a dear price for this friendship. To forget this means to not respect your own people, to not respect the sincere aspiration of all the country's peoples for revolutionary renewal of our common home—the Soviet Union.

During the last seven decades, the peoples of the entire world have carefully observed how relations of friendship, mutual ties, and mutual understanding of peoples have been established, developed and strengthened in the Soviet Union. These relations have been tested by history. It is sufficient to recall the great test of the Second World War that was withstood mainly thanks to the friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the USSR.

We understand well that our ethnic policy has not been rid of problems. It is entirely in order because our union is a complicated and developing socio-political organism. Existing contradictions in interethnic relations and ethnic policy not only have fallen to our lot in the legacy from the stagnant past, they spring up even now since under conditions of the mass processes of democratization when each nation and each people is attempting to select the optimal model of development for itself, unfortunately not always while considering the interests of others.

Manifestations of ethnic revival were not always totally or completely recognized during the first stages of perestroika. This movement began spontaneously with an unprecedented heat of passion and with the rise of peoples' complaints against each other. This movement even now clearly does not have enough of a desire to search for opportunities to solve problems.

Right now the processes of ethnic revival have encountered the need in the closest manner to develop a new union republic status. The 28th Party Congress decisions also call upon us to do that and the primary socio-legal issues of the new Union's appearance have been left open in them and this is quite legitimate and appropriate. Today it is impossible to force anything or anyone from above. New standards of interethnic association in the USSR must be developed only under conditions of patient and joint creativity and a joint search and mutual respect.

We communists are advocates of interethnic socio-economic cooperation and unity and have always advocated the need for this joint search for new forms of inter-republic relations and our Union's new appearance as a whole. We still advocate this today. Therefore, we are disturbed by the irresponsibility of the leaders of the three Baltic Republics who announced on June 27, 1990 on behalf of their peoples that the representatives of these republics do not consider it possible to participate in the Union Treaty preparation process. We regard this statement as politically myopic: They are ignoring the

integration processes that are gaining momentum in Europe and that will inevitably result in the creation of obstacles in cooperation between the republics that wish to participate in the Union Treaty.

While declaring in words their aspiration to support equal and friendly relations with the republics of the USSR, the heads of the Baltic Republics once again permitted tactlessness in their joint announcement—they submitted a demand in the form of an ultimatum to other republics which is inadmissible in the modern international world and in our life between republics.

The Latvian CP Central Committee, the Ravnopraviye deputy faction in the Republic Supreme Soviet, and all sensible people are completely convinced that the development of interethnic relations requires a search for universal agreement and a new level of democratization. The paths of the movement toward ethnic cooperation and toward interethnic unity can be carried out in different ways, really we are talking about a treaty and not about a law. It is inestimably important that any measures strengthen the friendship of peoples and not introduce discord in interethnic relations.

During the Union Treaty formation process, we consider it necessary to strive so that mutual relations between the USSR and the individual union republics have their own specific features and distinguishing peculiarities in comparison with interrelations between the Union and other republics. We also advocate individual republics being able to initiate cooperation "horizontally" with other republics within the union framework and independently resolve some inter-regional problems, just as you are resolving this here where the borders of republics, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes meet.

We consider the central political issue of the new Union to be the socio-legal status of the citizen of the USSR. The highest humanitarian goal of the settlement of interethnic relations in the USSR is reduced to the fact that the country's citizens feel at home at any point in it and in any republic.

In defining the foundations of the legal status of a citizen of the USSR, we are seeking guarantees of real equality of citizens of all nationalities of the USSR. The Soviet Union as a state formation can exist only when a citizen of the USSR has totally identical rights in all union and autonomous republics, ethnic oblasts, rayons, and cities, and districts.

I consider it appropriate to also briefly dwell on our understanding of the republics' role in the international arena. The Constitution of the USSR that is already in force preserves the right for them to enter into relations with foreign states, to conclude treaties and agreements with them, to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, and to participate in the activities of international organizations. Independent implementation of foreign economic ties is now also being added to that.

Within the framework of the new Union, a situation is entirely conceivable when republics will have broad diplomatic and consular ties with foreign states, will develop trade and other economic relations with them, and will participate in the activities of a number of UNESCO type and other international organizations.

It is understandable that a union republic should not contradict the USSR's international obligations when it exercises its rights in foreign relations. But we do not think that this is an obstacle to the development of normal relations with other states.

In conclusion, I want to once again stress that it is impossible, from the point of view of strengthening interethnic unity, to limit the Union Treaty by just reallocating powers among union republics and the USSR. This could result in the fact that the USSR at best is preserved in name only and the unification of republics will be transformed into a sort of regional international organization.

We consider it necessary that the goals for formation of humane democratic socialism be defined in the Union Treaty and that total empowerment of the people be carried out in the USSR. Here they have appropriately pointed out that some things seem otherwise, such as restoration of the bourgeois order and bourgeois relations. The goals for building a socialist legal state and the USSR's desire to occupy a worthy place in world civilization must be defined in the Treaty.

These are the Latvian CP Central Committee's views on the primary problems of interethnic relations in the USSR and the paths to resolve them. We are convinced of our righteousness and we will defend them with all political forms accessible to us.

Welcome friendship among peoples! Let reason prevail and not emotions!

#### **Klaipeda Garrison Defends Lenin Statue**

90P50106A Riga SOVETS KAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The 'Battle' for Klaipeda"]

[Text] "If we lose Lenin and the cannon, we also lose Klaipeda," said Admiral Valentin Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Military Fleet, addressing the officers of the Soviet garrison in Klaipeda.

It all began with the resolution passed by the city soviet presidium to dismantle the monument to Lenin and to remove the cannon from Victory Square. After this document appeared in the local newspaper, the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of USSR Citizens began picketing at the city soviet and together with representatives of Yedinstvo and those in charge of the Klaipeda garrison adopted a decision to defend the monuments with weapons in hand. Colonel V. Yegorov,

chief of the division's political department, stated: "We will carry out our orders, and, if it becomes necessary, we will use force."

#### **Supreme Council's Ban on Lithuanian Tabloid Protested**

90UN2650A Vilnius LETUVOS RITAS in Russian  
30 Jul 90-4 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by V. Raklievicius: "Into the Radiant Future, March!"]

[Text] on 1 August ELTA received a communique from the Lithuanian Supreme Council on a meeting of the Presidium. Among other things, the communique reported the following: "Taking the public's wishes into account, the Presidium has adopted a decree pertaining to publications of an immoral nature that have been disseminated recently, and has ordered the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs to halt the printing and distribution of supplements to the newspapers VASARIO 16 and DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU, and other publications that are contrary to the norms of morality."

A good many questions are raised by this story. The first and foremost is: On what grounds does the Presidium of the Supreme Council deck itself in the robes of judges of newspapers? After all, Article 11 of the Law on the Press and other Mass Media clearly states: "The right to stop the activity of a mass media outlet for a period up to one month belongs to the organization that has registered that media outlet." DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU was registered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Administration for Monitoring the Press. Thus, closing it is not within the Presidium's authority. The following wording itself is troubling: "Taking the public's wishes into account...." It is highly reminiscent of directives from the time of stagnation: "The opinion exists...."

Article 6 of the Law on the Press prohibits the publication of materials containing calls for war, violence and ethnic and religious feuds, as well as the dissemination of pornographic works.

It is a long-familiar, well-trodden path. As soon as the video boom began, numerous films deemed pornographic were prohibited. A little later those films were rehabilitated. But the main thing is not that but the fact that the Presidium ostensibly listened to the angry voice of the public.

But society, weary of the endless discussions on political themes, has started to read DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU for recreation. Look at its circulation—it has already surpassed 200,000. Incidentally, in Britain the majority openly scorns the newspapers NEWS OF THE WORLD (circulation 4.85 million) and the SUN (4.1 million), but secretly reads them nonetheless. As far as DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU is concerned, unquestionably the initiator here was not the public but the church and the group of deputies headed by A. Pataskas.



V. Baublis, director of the Administration for Monitoring the Press, turned the "case" of that newspaper's publication over for discussion by a competent expert commission, which reached the conclusion that DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU is not a pornographic publication. A. Sakalas, chairman of the parliamentary Commission on Ethics, was acquainted with that conclusion. But the Presidium made up its own mind.

In a democratic society, everything not prohibited by law is permitted. That pertains to the press, among other things. And yet here, from every indication, our life is being regulated not by laws but by the whims of certain individuals. Unquestionably, DVIDESIMT KAPEIKU is a specific sort of publication and has both its supporters and its opponents. That is natural. But pluralism consists precisely in granting freedom of choice and not forcing everyone to dance to the same tune. If you don't like it, don't buy it. Right now some deputies are already saying that VASARIO 16, RESPUBLIKA and LETUVOS RITAS are boulevard newspapers. Aren't matters leaning in the direction of the Presidium's once again "taking the public's wishes into account"?

#### Group Urges Secession of Vilnius From Lithuania

90UN2650B Vilnius LETUVOS RITAS in Russian  
30 Jul 90-4 Aug 90 p 6

[Article by G. Vaidila: "Agitation From the Underground"]

[Text] This is not the first time I have taken leaflets from my mailbox. Previously they were put in by Unity and the Committee for Protection of the Rights of the Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, and this time—by someone calling itself the Organizational Committee of Patriots of Vilenskiy Kray. One could take a more indulgent view of this postal activity on the "patriots" part if it were not for some of their appeals. They propose that the inhabitants of Vilnius Kray separate themselves as quickly as possible from "Sajudis Lithuania" and set up volunteer detachments. Detachments of Soviet patriots ages 14 to 70 are being formed illegally and are awaiting the signal to fight.

The Organizational Committee of Patriots of Vilenskiy Kray intends to propose that the Supreme Council get out of Vilnius and that Lithuania's capital be moved to Kaunas, as well as that internationalists from other places in the republic be offered terms for exchanging housing with nationalist Vilnius residents who do not want to live in proletarian Vilenskiy Kray.

The authors appeal to Russians, Poles, Belorussians and Lithuanian internationalists (!) to make a choice: submit to the lords from Sajudis, or fight for genuine freedom against social and ethnic oppression.

#### Lithuania's 11 March Party Discusses Goals, Problems

90UN2650C Vilnius LETUVOS RITAS in Russian  
30 Jul 90-4 Aug 90 p 6

[Article by K. Jauniskis: "Party of 'Reliable People'"]

[Text] The 11 March Party that is being established held an expanded meeting in Vilnius.

In the opinion of E. Ambrazeviciute, a member of the initiative group, a distressing lag has been allowed. If the party had been established prior to the elections, the deputies supported by Sajudis would now be participating not in the activities of the center's parliamentary faction but in the Lithuanian Communist Party's discussion club. In the opinion of many, Sajudis should have become a party, since some of the Sajudis deputies have now taken an impermissible step backward by supporting the revision of the act on the restoration of statehood.

Supreme Council Deputy V. Zemelis noted that the 11 March act is the cornerstone for the restoration of real independence, and since the proclamation of the moratorium the new house has been left without a foundation and may soon collapse. No one said a word about the fact that its construction was hardly possible under the conditions of the blockage.

Participants in the meeting unanimously favored basing the party's activities on the principle of the continuation of the 18th-century state; the party is called on to become the heir of the ideology of the Lithuanian Tautinikai [Nationalists], who favored the unity of the nation. Supporters of the 11 March Party believe that all other ideas are imposed from outside and alien to the Lithuanian spirit. A party is needed that will serve the nation.

How does the 11 March Party differ from the Lithuanian Tautinikai of the period between the wars? V. Cepaitis, explained that the latter have already performed their role—they established a state. The goal now is to strengthen the state, which is the sole guarantee of the nation's preservation.

The chief task is to replace the Communist nomenclature at all levels and replace the cabinet of ministers. Someone from the floor asked who could be proposed for the office of prime minister, but there was no answer. A. Terleckas, leader of the Lithuanian Freedom League, joked: "Whoever you like, as long as it's not a Communist—better me."

The new party wants to become the Communists' gravedigger and to save the nation from communist totalitarianism. Whether this leads to the replacement of one "ism" with another, time will tell. And time, in the opinion of one speaker, is not working for the future party.



The party will have a strict membership and should accept "reliable" people. That was continually emphasized.

It is planned to hold several more meetings in other cities, and then a founding congress will be held. The party's rules and program are being drawn up. V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, attended the meeting.

### **Georgian Law on Elections to Supreme Soviet**

90US1307A Tbitisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
22 Aug 90 pp 1-4

[Law of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic on Elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet]

#### **I. General Provisions**

##### **[Text] Article 1. Election Principles**

The elections to the supreme state body of Georgia, the Supreme Soviet, are held on the basis of a universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret balloting.

Elected to the Supreme Soviet are 250 deputies with a term of five years. Of them, 125 are elected from single-mandate electoral districts and 125 from the all-Georgian party lists on the basis of proportional representation.

##### **Article 2. Universal Suffrage**

Elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are universal: the right of election is given to Georgian citizens permanently residing in Georgia upon reaching the age of 18 by the election day, and they can be elected if they are Georgian citizens residing permanently in Georgia upon reaching the age of 23 by the day of elections and having resided permanently in Georgia for at least 10 years, regardless of origin, social and property status, racial and national affiliation, sex, education, language, political views, religious belief, type and character of occupation.

Georgian citizens cannot be simultaneously the members of more than two soviets.

Persons serving in military or paramilitary formations not subordinate to the jurisdiction of Georgian state power are not to participate in the elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

Also not to participate in the elections are mentally ill citizens who are judged by the court as incapable, as well as persons being held under a court sentence in places of incarceration.

##### **Article 3. Equal Suffrage**

The elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are equal: each voter has one vote and Georgian citizens participate in the elections on equal grounds.

##### **Article 4. Direct Suffrage**

The elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are direct as the deputies are elected directly by the voters to the Supreme Soviet.

##### **Article 5. Secret Balloting**

The elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are carried out by secret balloting as control over the expression of voter will is not permitted.

##### **Article 6. Holding of Elections by Electoral Commission**

The elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are organized and held by electoral commissions which are formed from the representatives of the political parties, public organizations and movements, the labor collectives, the collectives of specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning and voter groups.

##### **Article 7. Participation of Citizens, Their Associations, Labor Collectives, Collectives of Specialized Secondary and Higher Institutions of Learning in Preparing for and Holding Elections**

Georgian citizens participate in the preparation and holding of the election of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet both through the political parties, the public organizations and movements, the labor collectives, the collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning as well as directly.

The political parties, the public organizations and movements, the labor collectives, the collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning participate in preparing and holding the elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet both through their representatives on the electoral commissions as well as directly.

##### **Article 8. The Right of Putting Up Candidates for Deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet**

The right to put up candidates as deputies for the Georgian Supreme Soviet belongs to the political parties (political organizations, movements, unions and so forth and below in the text called "parties") in Georgia and the action of which extends over all Georgian territory as well as to their associations including the electoral blocs and groups of voters by submitting an application.

A party is a voluntary association of citizens on a common ideological and organizational basis which contributes to shaping the political will of the people, through their representatives elected to the state bodies and by other democratic forms participates in elaborating republic national policy and in the administration of state and social affairs.

The parties should respect the national and state sovereignty of Georgia, the principles of democracy, and the idea of national concord.

All parties in carrying out the functions envisaged in their program and bylaws act within the limits of Georgian legislation.

Prohibited are the establishment and operation of those parties which aim at a violent change in the constitutional system of Georgia, the violating of its territorial integrity for the initiating of nationality and religious hostility. Also prohibited are the activities of parties engaged in propagandizing war or violating the generally accepted standards of international law.

**Article 9. Incompatibility of the Status of the Member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet and Official Position**

Persons who are a member of the Georgian Council of Ministers as well as the councils of ministers of Abkhazia and Adzharia, with the exception of their chairmen, their deputies, the leaders of the republic administrative bodies of Georgia as well as Abkhazia and Adzharia, their deputies, persons who are members of the executive committees of the local soviets, the leaders of departments, agencies and administrations of the executive committees of the local soviets and their deputies, persons elected to judiciary bodies, the main state arbiters and the state arbiters of Georgia as well as Abkhazia and Adzharia, the procurator of Georgia, the inferior procurators and their deputies, the chairman and the members of the Georgian Constitutional Oversight Committee cannot be simultaneously members of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

**Article 10. Material Support for Elections. Expenses Related to Elections and the Election Fund**

Expenditures related to the preparation and holding of elections for deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are borne by the state. The approximate amount of these expenditures is set by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. The actual amount of expenses is set by the Central Electoral Commission for electing the deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet. After the end of the elections, these are approved by the newly elected Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, parties participating independently in the elections, electoral blocs, and independent candidates can establish election funds for which they have the right to use their own money, contributions from citizens, labor collectives, public organizations and movements in Georgia. The labor collectives, the public organizations and movements adopt decisions on the use of their funds for the designated purpose.

The amount of the election fund cannot exceed four times the amount of the total allocated for each party, electoral bloc or independent candidate by the Central Electoral Commission. The election fund is controlled by an agent appointed by the leader of the party independently participating in the elections, by the leaders of parties comprising the electoral bloc and the independent candidate deputy. The Georgian Savings Bank

opens up an account entitled "Election Fund" for the agent upon the request of the person appointing him.

The procedure for the allocation and use of funds for expenditures related to the elections is set by the Central Electoral Commission no later than 45-50 days prior to the elections.

Upon the conclusion of the elections, if the party list has gained at least four percent of the votes of those participating in the voting, the balance of the election fund is deposited to the account of the party or electoral bloc equally to the accounts of the parties comprising it and in the opposite instance the total is deposited to the state budget and for an independent candidate, upon his instructions, to the account of any Georgian charitable society.

No later than one month after the publishing of the election results, the Central Electoral Commission and the parties, electoral blocs and independent candidates who have participated in the elections and been elected members of the Supreme Soviet publish a report on the use of the money allocated for the elections according to a form established by the Central Electoral Commission.

The correct use of the election funds by the parties participating independently in the elections, by the electoral blocs and the independent candidates is monitored by the Central and District Electoral Commissions, while the expenses of the electoral commissions related to preparing and holding the elections are supervised by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

The enterprises, institutions, organizations, the state and public bodies are to provide gratis to the electoral commissions rooms and equipment needed to prepare for and hold the elections.

The state mass information bodies are to publish gratis the materials submitted by the electoral commissions, the election programs of the parties participating in the elections, the electoral blocs and independent candidates as well as other materials within the limits set by the current Law.

**Article 11. Publicity in Preparing and Holding the Elections**

The preparation and holding of elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are carried out by the electoral commissions openly and publicly. The electoral commissions inform the citizens about their work, on the forming of the electoral districts and precincts, the membership, location and operating hours of the electoral commissions, they acquaint the voters with the voter rolls, the list of parties and electoral blocs participating in the elections, the lists of candidate deputies personally presented by them along with their election programs, and provide information on the candidate deputies as well as the results of the voting and elections.

The authorized agents of the parties, the electoral blocs and candidate deputies have the right to be present at the

sessions of the electoral commissions and in the electoral precincts as well as one representative from the public organizations and movements, representatives of the press, television and radio, observers from other states and international organizations, and on the day of the elections in the electoral precincts, from the moment of sealing the ballot boxes until the final tallying of the voting, also one representative each from the independent candidate deputies and also candidate deputies personally proposed by the parties (electoral blocs).

The powers of the representatives are authorized by the appropriate document or by copies from the minutes of sessions of the leading bodies of the public organizations and movements, upon the submission of the independent candidate, the personally proposed candidate as well as the leader (leaders) of the party (electoral bloc). The authorization and copy from the minutes are turned over to the appropriate electoral commission no later than two days. The electoral commission takes a decision within 24 hours. In the event of a refusal, the electoral commission is to provide an explanatory written reply which can be protested to the superior electoral commission.

The mass information media take up the course of preparation for and holding of the elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet. They are guaranteed unobstructed access to all meetings and sessions related to the elections. The electoral commissions, the parties, electoral blocs, the state and public bodies and the labor collectives supply them with information related to the preparations for and holding of the elections.

The Central Electoral Commission is given an opportunity every morning over Georgian Radio and every evening over Georgian Television to transmit up-to-the-minutes information. The information is broadcast by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, by his deputy or by a person specially appointed by the commission for this purpose.

The reports on sessions of the Central Electoral Commission and the decisions taken by it are systematically published by the republic newspapers and the reports and decisions of the district electoral commissions by the appropriate rayon (city) newspapers.

#### **Article 12. Responsibility for Violation of the Election Law**

Liability established by the law will be borne by persons who by violence, deception, threats, bribery or other means impede the free exercising of the Georgian citizen of his right to elect and be elected a deputy to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, to conduct election agitation; by those interfering in the work of the electoral commissions and obstructing of voting at the electoral precincts, the performing of duties related to registering the candidate, counting votes and establishing the election results at the electoral precincts and in the districts, by those who publish or by other means disseminate information which defames the honor and dignity of the candidate

deputy or by those engaged in agitation on election day as well as by members of the electoral commissions, officials of the state and public bodies who forge election documents or knowingly miscount the votes, who violate voting secrecy, by those persons who do not provide the electoral commissions with the necessary materials and data or who do not carry out their decisions.

The parties, electoral blocs and independent candidates who exceed the maximum amount of the election fund set by the current Law are to be deprived of the mandates secured by them to the Georgian Supreme Soviet as well as the right for a period of six years to submit candidate deputies for election to the Supreme Soviet while independent candidates are to be deprived for the same period of the right to be elected to the Georgian Supreme Soviet. Cases involving the above-indicated infractions are examined by the Georgian Supreme Court.

## **II. Setting the Elections. Registration of Parties and Electoral Blocs Participating in Elections**

### **Article 13. Setting of Elections**

Elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are set by the Georgian Supreme Soviet no later than four months prior to the end of the term of its powers.

The announcement of election day is published in the republic and local newspapers no later than two days after the scheduling of elections.

### **Article 14. Registration of Parties Participating in the Elections**

For gaining the right to put up candidates as deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet and for appointing their representatives on the electoral commissions, the parties under go registration with the Central Electoral Commission and for this no sooner than the 64th day and no later than the 58th day before the elections submit to the commission the appropriate statement signed by the party leader as well as the party's bylaws and program. The statement gives the authorized representative of the party, his address and telephone number; the Central Electoral Commission issues to the authorized representative a dated receipt for accepting the statement.

No later than the third day after accepting the statement, the commission registers the party and issues the corresponding paper to its representative.

A party is refused registration if its bylaws, program, or activities contradict the demands stipulated under the current Law for political parties.

In the event of the refusal to register, the party has the right within a three-day period after obtaining the refusal to protest the decision of the Central Electoral Commission to the Georgian Supreme Court. The court hands down a ruling within a three-day period from the moment of presenting the suit.



A session of an electoral commission is considered to be a quorum if at least two-thirds of the commission membership participates in it. The commission members affirm participation in the session by signing the attendance sheet. The decisions of the commission are passed by a majority of votes of those present. With a tie in the votes, the vote of the chairman is considered decisive. The commission members who do not agree with a commission decision have the right to express their opinion and this in a written form is appended to the minutes and forwarded for review to the superior electoral commission.

An electoral commission is represented by its chairman. In the event when a commission does not have a chairman or he is unable to perform his functions, the duties of the chairman are carried out by his deputy.

The chairman, the deputy chairman and the secretary of the electoral commission as well as the commission members (not more than two from a district electoral commission and not more than one person from a precinct electoral commission) during the period of preparing for and holding the elections upon the ruling of the commission, can be freed from performing production or official duties with the setting of a wage for them equal to their average wage and paid from funds allocated for holding the elections.

Upon a ruling of the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet a wage can be designated from the state budget for the chairman, the deputy chairman, the secretary and the members of the Central Electoral Commission for the remaining period of their term.

Persons who are members of an electoral commission do not have the right to participate in agitation for or against the parties and candidate deputies participating in the elections.

#### Article 21. Work Groups of the Electoral Commissions

For the purpose of the organizational, legal and technical support of the elections, work groups of electoral commissions can be formed. The members of the work groups, including the treasury commission, are appointed as follows: for the Central Electoral Commission by the commission itself and for the District and Precinct Electoral Commissions by the district electoral commission.

Upon a decision of the appropriate electoral commission, the work done by the members of the work group can be paid for.

#### Article 22. The Formation of the Central Electoral Commission

The Central Electoral Commission for electing deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet is formed with a membership of a chairman, his deputy, a secretary and at least 12 members.

The chairman and four commission members are appointed by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet not earlier than the 66th day and not later than the 65th day before the elections considering the proposals of the presidiums or the executive committees of the oblast, rayon and city (with the exception of towns under rayon authority) soviets of the republic, the parties, public organizations and movements. The designated organizations submit their proposals to the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet no later than the 67th day prior to the elections. The Supreme Soviet Presidium immediately publishes its decision in the republic newspapers, giving the address and telephone number of the Central Electoral Commission.

One member each of the commission is appointed by the corresponding soviets of the autonomous formations or by their presidiums no later than the 53d day before the elections.

The parties, after registration with the Central Electoral Commission in the aim of participating in the elections, have the right to appoint one member to the Central Electoral Commission if their representative has not been elected to the membership of the Central Electoral Commission by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The parties inform the Central Electoral Commission of their decision no later than the 53d day prior to the elections.

If on the 52d day prior to the elections, the membership of the commission is less than 15 persons, the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet within a two-day period appoints additional commission members to bring its membership up to 15.

Within two days of forming the commission but no later than 53 days before the elections, it chooses from its members a deputy chairman and secretary of the Central Electoral Commission.

The term of office of the Central Electoral Commission ends on the day of scheduling the next elections of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

The Central Electoral Commission immediately publishes the information about its membership, the address and telephone number of the commission in the official organs of the Georgian Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, in the newspapers and Proceedings.

#### Article 23. Powers of the Central Electoral Commission

Prior to the forming of the full membership of the Central Electoral Commission, its sessions are considered to have a quorum if they are attended by at least two-thirds of the actual commission membership on the day of the session.

The Central Electoral Commission:

- 1) On all the territory of Georgia exercises supervision over the carrying out of the current law and ensures its uniform application; in the necessary

Within a two-day period after completing the registration period, the Central Electoral Commission publishes in the republic newspapers a list of registered parties in the order of receiving the applications as well as the list of parties which have been refused registration as well as the reasons for refusal.

#### Article 15. Electoral Blocs and Their Registration

Parties registered with the Central Electoral Commission have the right to join into electoral blocs (a bloc can be given a name) and the registration of the blocs begins on the third day after the start of party registration by the Central Electoral Commission and terminates 40 days prior to the elections. The corresponding application submitted to the commission is signed by the leaders of all the parties making up the bloc. The application gives the authorized representative of the bloc, his address and telephone number; the commission issues to the representative a dated receipt of accepting the application.

Within a three-day period after accepting the application, the Central Electoral Commission publishes in the republic newspapers an announcement on the forming of an electoral bloc.

A party which is a member of an electoral bloc cannot simultaneously be in another electoral bloc or participate independently in the elections.

### III. Electoral Districts and Electoral Precincts

#### Article 16. Electoral Districts

For electing deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, 125 electoral districts are to be formed.

The electoral districts are formed by the Central Electoral Commission considering the administrative-territorial units of Georgia and the number of voters in them; the Central Electoral Commission no later than on the 58th day before the elections publishes in the republic newspapers the lists of the electoral districts indicating their boundaries.

#### Article 17. Electoral Precincts

For conducting the voting and counting the votes in the elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the electoral districts are divided into electoral precincts.

The electoral precincts can be set up at hospitals and other permanent medical facilities, in inaccessible places, in ships at sea on the day of elections; the electoral precincts formed on ships are considered as part of electoral districts at the vessel's home port. The electoral precincts can also be formed in Georgian institutions located outside the republic; the question of their affiliation with an electoral district is resolved by the Central Electoral Commission.

The electoral precincts are formed by the district electoral commissions upon submission of the executive

committees of the appropriate soviets and upon agreement with them. On ships which on election day are at sea, the electoral precincts are formed in the same procedure for the place of the vessel's home port. In Georgian institutions located outside the republic, the electoral precincts are formed upon submission of the Council of Ministers.

Electoral precincts are formed with at least 20 voters and not more than 3,000 voters no later than 40 days prior to the elections. In inaccessible regions and on vessels which on election day are at sea, the electoral precincts are formed at the same time and in exceptional instances no later than five days prior to the elections.

The district electoral commission within two days from the moment of forming the precincts publishes in the local newspapers the number of the electoral precincts, the addresses of the precinct electoral commissions and the electoral precincts.

### IV. Electoral Commissions

#### Article 18. The System of Electoral Commissions

For holding elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, electoral commissions are formed:

- a) The Central Electoral Commission on elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet;
- b) District electoral commissions for elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet;
- c) Precinct electoral commissions.

#### Article 19. Membership of Electoral Commissions

It is not permitted to appoint to membership of an electoral commission a candidate deputy to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the chairman, deputy chairman or secretary of any level of soviet, its presidium or executive committee, the agent of the parties participating in the elections, the electoral bloc or candidate deputy.

The powers of the chairman, the deputy chairman, the secretary and members of the electoral commission terminate:

- a) On the basis stipulated in Part I of the current article;
- b) In the event of retirement;
- c) In the event of recall or the lifting of powers.

#### Article 20. Organization of the work of the Electoral Commission

The deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, the chairmen of the district and precinct commissions and the commission secretaries are elected at a session of the appropriate commission immediately upon its formation.

- instances it provides an interpretation of the provisions of the current Law; by a majority of two-thirds of its membership it adopts instructions on resolving questions necessary for carrying out the election campaign and which have not been covered by the current Law;
- 2) Forms the electoral districts and assigns them names and numbers;
  - 3) Settles the question on assigning electoral precincts outside of Georgia to an electoral district;
  - 4) Publishes the dates for the start and end for submitting and appointing members of the electoral commissions and the submitting of lists of candidate deputies in the district and their registration;
  - 5) Registers the political parties and electoral blocs participating in the elections, the lists of their candidate deputies; issues the corresponding authorizations to the candidate deputies;
  - 6) Directs the activities of the electoral commissions and hears their information;
  - 7) Establishes the procedure for the allocation and use of expenditures related to the elections; allocates money between the district election commissions, oversees the supply of the election commissions with quarters, transport, communications and examines other questions related to material and technical support for the elections;
  - 8) Establishes the forms of the election ballots for the election of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the voter rolls, the minutes of the sessions of the electoral commissions, other election documents, models of the ballot boxes and the seals of the electoral commissions as well as the procedure for storing election documents;
  - 9) Ensures equal conditions for participation in the election campaign for the candidate deputies from the parties and the personally proposed candidate deputies, the publishing of posters with the main provisions of the election programs of the parties and with lists of the deputy candidates and biographic data on the candidates;
  - 10) Determines the procedure for the participation of the mass information media in the election campaign and their use in accord with the current Law;
  - 11) Defines the obligations of the ministries, the state committees and departments and other state and public bodies of Georgia as well as Abkhazia and Adzharia on questions related to the preparation and holding of the elections and hears their information;
  - 12) Approves the text of the election ballots for the elections according to the party lists; ensures their preparation and supply of ballots to the district commission;
  - 13) Establishes the total number of voters, the total number of persons who participated in the elections and who participated in the voting; the common divider and the number of deputies elected under each party list;
  - 14) Gives the election results in the republic; within a 10-day period from the election day it publishes in the press an announcement on the election results and the lists of deputies elected to the Georgian Supreme Soviet; it registers the elected deputies and issues the corresponding certificates to them;
  - 15) Turns over to the Credentials Commission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet the necessary documentation for verifying the powers of the deputies;
  - 16) Sets a run-off for the party lists in those electoral precincts where the voting was recognized as invalid;
  - 17) Sets reelections for the electoral districts;
  - 18) In the event of the withdrawal of a deputy elected under a party list, it submits to the Credentials Commission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet the necessary documentation for verifying the powers of his successor as defined in accord with the current Law;
  - 19) In the event of the withdrawal of a deputy elected according to the electoral districts, it sets elections for deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet in the corresponding districts and ensures their holding;
  - 20) Examines the statements and complaints relating to the decisions and actions of the electoral commissions and hands down rulings on them;
  - 21) Carries out other powers in accord with the current Law and the other laws of Georgia.
- Article 24. Formation of the District Electoral Commissions**
- The district electoral commissions for electing deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are formed with a membership of a chairman, his deputy, a secretary and at least 10 members.
- The deputy chairman and four members of the district electoral commission are appointed by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet not before six days and not later than nine days from the time of publishing the list of the district electoral commissions considering the proposals of the presidiums or executive committees of the corresponding rayon, city (with the exception of towns of rayon subordination and towns not having a rayon divisioning) and city rayon soviets of the republic,



the parties, public organizations and movements, the labor collectives and the collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning located on the territory of the electoral district and the voter groups. The designated organizations submit their proposals to the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet no later than the sixth day from the publishing of the list of electoral districts. The Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet immediately announces its decision to the Central Electoral Commission and to the organizations submitting their proposals to the Presidium, and no later than on the third day publishes in the republic newspapers and the corresponding republic, oblast and rayon (city) newspapers the membership of the commissions giving their location and telephone numbers.

One member of the district electoral commission can be appointed by each party registered with the Central Electoral Commission, if their representative has not been appointed to the membership of the district electoral commission by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. The parties inform the Central Electoral Commission of their decision no later than the 12th day after publishing the list of the electoral districts.

If on the 13th day after the publishing of the list of electoral districts there are fewer than 13 persons as members of the commission, the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet upon the proposal of the Central Electoral Commission within a three-day period appoints additional commission members for bringing its membership up to 13 and it immediately informs the Central Electoral Commission and the corresponding district electoral commission of this.

Within two days from the moment of forming the commission but not earlier than 12 days after publishing the list of the electoral districts, from its members it elects a chairman and secretary of the district electoral commission and immediately informs the Central Electoral Commission of this.

The term of office of the district electoral commission ends on the day the subsequent elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are set.

The district electoral commission immediately publishes an announcement of its membership as well as the address and telephone number of the commission in the appropriate local newspapers.

#### Article 25. Powers of the District Electoral Commissions

A district electoral commission:

- 1) On the territory of the electoral district exercises supervision over the carrying out of the current Law and ensures its uniform application;
- 2) Forms the electoral precincts and publishes their lists;

- 3) Appoints the deputy chairman and two members of the precinct electoral commission and when necessary additional commission members; publishes the membership of the commissions and their addresses;
- 4) Directs the activities of the precinct electoral commissions and hears their information;
- 5) Allocates money between the precinct electoral commissions; supervises the providing of the precinct electoral commissions with quarters, transport, communications and examines other questions related to the material and technical support of the elections in the electoral district;
- 6) Supervises the drawing up of the voter rolls and their general publicizing;
- 7) Registers the candidate deputies who are personally put up by voter groups and issues them the corresponding authorization; provides for the publishing of posters with their biographic data as well as election programs;
- 8) Registers the authorized representatives of the independent candidate deputies, the parties and electoral blocs and issues the corresponding identification papers;
- 9) Provides equal conditions for participation in the election campaign of candidate deputies, parties and electoral blocs;
- 10) With the agreement with the local authorities establishes the locations of election posters for general notification and when necessary provides for the manufacturing of the corresponding stands;
- 11) Supervises the carrying out of the demands of the current Law by the local mass information media;
- 12) Hears information from the executive and administrative bodies of the local soviets and the leaders of state enterprises, institutions and organizations on questions related to the preparation and holding of the election;
- 13) Provides aid to the labor collectives, the public organizations and movements, the collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning and to the voters in organizing meetings with candidate deputies and for the candidate deputies in organizing meetings for them both in these collectives as well as at the residence of the voters;
- 14) Establishes the text of the ballot for the electoral district and provides for the printing of the ballots and the supplying of them to the precinct electoral commissions;

- 15) Establishes and publishes in the local press the number of voters, the number of those participating in the elections and those who participated in the balloting, the final election results and issues identification to the deputies elected in the electoral district;
- 16) Schedules and holds a second round of elections for the personally submitted candidate deputies;
- 17) Schedules and holds a runoff in the electoral district;
- 18) Holds repeat elections in the electoral district;
- 19) Holds a runoff according to the party lists in those electoral precincts where the balloting has been considered invalid;
- 20) Holds elections in the electoral district to replace a deputy who has withdrawn;
- 21) Examines statements and complaints relating to the decisions and actions of the precinct electoral commissions and adopts decisions on these;
- 22) Carries out other powers in accord with the current Law.

#### Article 26. Formation of Precinct Electoral Commissions

The precinct electoral commissions for electing deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet are to be formed with the membership of the commission chairman, his deputy, a secretary and at least two commission members not earlier than the sixth day and no later than the seventh day prior to publishing the list of the electoral commissions. The district electoral commission sets the minimum number of commission members.

The deputy chairman and two members of the precinct electoral commission are appointed by the district electoral commission considering the proposals from the presidiums or executive committees of the local soviets operating on its territory as well as from the public organizations and movements, the labor collectives and collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning located on the given territory and the voter groups.

The parties and electoral blocs registered with the Central Electoral Commission can appoint one member of a precinct electoral commission.

If on the sixth day after publishing the list of the precinct electoral commissions the number of members of the precinct electoral commission has been less than the established, the district electoral commission within a two-day period appoints additional commission members to fill out its membership.

Statements on the presentation and appointment of members of the precinct electoral commission are submitted to the district electoral commission no later than the fifth day after publishing the list of the electoral precincts.

Within two days from the moment of forming the commission, it elects from its own ranks a chairman and secretary of the precinct electoral commission and immediately informs the district electoral commission of this.

The term of office of the precinct electoral commission terminates immediately upon the conclusion of the elections.

The precinct electoral commission immediately publishes information as to its membership, address and telephone number of the commission in the local newspapers.

#### Article 27. Powers of the Precinct Electoral Commission

The precinct electoral commission:

- 1) Draws up the voter rolls for the precinct;
- 2) Acquaints the voters with the voter rolls, it accepts and reviews statements of inaccuracy in the rolls and resolves the question of incorporating the appropriate rectifications in them;
- 3) Issues to the voters voter cards and, upon demand, a voting rights certificate;
- 4) Informs the public of the location of the precinct electoral commission and the time of its work as well as of the election day and the location of the polls;
- 5) Prepares the quarters for the voting, the ballot boxes and booths as well as informational stands;
- 6) Organizes the voting at the electoral precinct on election day;
- 7) Establishes the number of persons participating in the elections and the number of persons participating in the voting at the electoral precinct, the number of votes given to each deputy candidate and for each list of candidates;
- 8) Reviews statements and complaints over questions of preparing the elections and organizing balloting and takes the corresponding decisions;
- 9) Exercises other powers in accord with the current Law.

#### Article 28. Procedure for Appointing and Designating Members of Electoral Commissions

Each party, organization, enterprise and institution having the right to put up (appoint) a member of an electoral commission can put up (appoint) just one member to each electoral commission.

The right to put up (appoint) their representatives as members of electoral commissions is also had by the presidiums or the executive committees of the Georgian soviets, the republic leading party body or the party leader, the leaders of parties joined into electoral blocs, by submitting a joint request.

Also having the right to put up their representatives as members of electoral commissions are the following:

- 1) The republic leading body of a public organization and movement—to all electoral commissions; the regional leading bodies—for the corresponding district and precinct electoral commissions; assemblies of primary groups operating on the territory of the corresponding electoral district—to the precinct electoral commissions. The designated bodies submit representatives at the sessions (assemblies, conferences). If a representative has been put up by more than one body for the same commission, preference is given to the representative of the superior body;
- 2) Assemblies (conferences) of the labor collectives and collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning located on the territory of the electoral district to the district and precinct electoral commissions;
- 3) Voters by submitting a request to the appropriate electoral commission: to the district electoral commission if the request has been signed by at least 100 voters residing on the territory of the electoral district and to the precinct electoral commission if the request has been signed by at least 20 voters residing on the territory of the corresponding electoral district.

In putting up (appointing) a member of an electoral commission a statement is submitted to the appropriate body at the date designated by the current Law, by the presidium or executive committee of the soviet, the republic leading body or the leader of the party or a joint statement from the leaders of the parties joined in an electoral bloc, or:

- a) A copy of the minutes of the assembly (session, conference). The copy of the minutes (statement) gives the name of the represented body, its address and telephone number, the number of members of the body (collective), the number of participants in the assembly (session, conference), the results of the voting, the date of taking the decision, the last name, first name and patronymic, date of birth, party affiliation, position (type of occupation), place of employment, address and telephone number, home address and telephone number of the person put up as a commission member. The minutes are verified by the signatures of the chairman and secretary of the assembly (session, conference);

- b) In the case defined by Point three of the third part of the current Article, a statement indicating the above-listed data of the person put up as a commission member; the last name, first name and patronymic, date of birth, series and number of passport, home address, date of signature and signature of confirming persons; the same data and the telephone number of the initiators of the submission.

A dated receipt on accepting the request is issued to the person submitting the request.

#### **Article 29. Procedure for Convening and Holding an Assembly, Session, Conference or Congress**

The procedure for convening and holding sessions (conferences, congresses) of the soviets, their presidiums, executive committees, political parties, public organizations and movement is determined by the enforceable enactments regulating their activities.

The assemblies (conferences) in the labor collectives, the collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning are convened by their councils, trade union committees (buros) together with the administration upon their own initiative or upon the demand of one-fifth of the members of the labor collective. An assembly is considered to be a quorum if it is attended by over one-half the members of the labor collective; a conference is a quorum if it is attended by at least two-thirds of the elected delegates. Participation in the work of the assembly (conference) by its members is confirmed by the signatures on the registration sheet verified by the chairman and secretary of the assembly (conference). Any voter can be put up for a member of an electoral commission but only with his agreement. A person is considered elected if over one-half of the registered participants of the assembly (the total membership of the conference) has voted for him. In electing the conference delegates, the standard of representation is set by the body convening the conference.

The minutes of the assembly, session, conference or congress are kept until the confirmation of the powers of the deputies by the Credentials Commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

#### **Article 30. Procedure for Amending the Membership of Electoral Commissions**

Any member of an electoral commission can be released by the commission from performing his duties on the commission:

- a) On legitimate grounds set out by Part I of Article 19 of the current Law;
- b) In the case of retirement;
- c) In the case of recall or lifting of powers.

The right to recall a commission member is given to the body which has presented or appointed him.



The right of depriving a commission member of his powers belongs to the superior electoral commission (and for a member of the Central Electoral Commission by this commission itself) in their violating of the electoral law or the systematic ignoring of their duties. The question of the lifting of powers is settled at a session of the commission by secret voting with a majority of votes by its entire membership.

In releasing a commission member from performing his duties in the events outlined by the current article or due to his death, if the commission member was the representative of a party participating independently in elections or of an electoral bloc, this party or electoral bloc within a two-week period can appoint a new commission member. In other instances, a new commission member within the same period can be appointed by a body formed by the commission in the procedure set out in the current Law.

#### **Article 31. Assistance to Electoral Commissions in Carrying Out Their Powers**

The carrying out of the decisions adopted within the limits of the powers of the electoral commissions are obligatory for all the state, party and public bodies, the mass information media, the enterprises, institutions and organizations and officials. They are obliged to assist the electoral commissions in their work and to provide them with the required information and materials.

The electoral commissions have the right on questions related to the preparation and holding of elections to turn to the state, party and public bodies, to the enterprises, institutions and organizations, to officials and to leaders of the mass information media who are obliged to review the designated questions and provide the electoral commission with a reply within a three-day period.

The decisions and actions of the electoral commissions can be protested to the superior electoral commission and, in instances stipulated by the current Law, also to the court.

#### **V. The Voter Rolls, Voter Card and Voting Rights Certificate**

##### **Article 32. The Voter Rolls and the Procedure for Compiling Them**

The voter rolls are drawn up in three copies for each electoral precinct and are signed by the chairman and secretary of the precinct electoral commission. Representatives of the public can also be called in by the electoral commission for working on drawing up the rolls.

The executive committees of the rayon, city, city rayon, settlement and rural soviets provide the voter count and turn over to the precinct electoral commissions data essential for compiling the voter rolls concerning the voters residing on the corresponding territory.

The rolls include the last name, first name and patronymic, date of birth and address of each voter.

The voter rolls for electoral precincts formed in hospitals and other inpatient medical facilities as well as on vessels which on the election day are at sea and in Georgian institutions located outside the republic are drawn up on the basis of data submitted by the leaders of the designated institutions and by the ship captains.

The names of the voters are entered in the voter rolls in a procedure convenient for conducting the balloting.

One copy of the voter roll is forwarded to the Central Electoral Commission.

##### **Article 33. Procedure for Entering Citizens on the Voter Rolls**

The voter rolls are to include all Georgian citizens residing permanently in Georgia and who by the day or on the day of the elections have reached the age of 18, who by the moment of drawing up the rolls reside on the territory of the given electoral precinct and have the right to vote.

A voter is included on only one voter roll.

##### **Article 34. Familiarizing the Citizens With the Voter Rolls, Issuing Voter Cards and the Right to Protest Errors in the Voter Roll**

The voter rolls are made generally public 15 days prior to the elections and at electoral precincts formed in hospitals and other inpatient medical facilities two days prior to the elections.

Within a 10-day period from the issuing of the voter rolls by the precinct electoral commissions for public information the voters are issued their voter cards which give the last name, first name and patronymic of the voter, his ordinal number on the voter roll, the number and address of the electoral precinct.

Citizens are given an opportunity to become familiar with the voter roll and verify the correctness of its compiling in the quarters of the precinct electoral commission.

Each citizen is given the right to protest the noninclusion, the incorrect inclusion on the rolls or exclusion from the rolls as well as other errors made in the rolls. Statements about inaccuracies in the rolls are reviewed by the precinct electoral commission which is obliged no later than within two days and on the eve of election or on election day itself to immediately review a protest and incorporate the necessary corrections in the roll or issue the protester a copy of a reasoned decision for rejecting his protest. This ruling can be protested no later than five days prior to the elections to the rayon (city) people's court which is obliged to review the complaint within three days. The ruling of the rayon (city) people's

court is final. A correction in the voter rolls in accord with a court ruling is done immediately by the precinct electoral commission.

The Central Electoral Commission is informed immediately of changes made in the voter rolls.

#### **Article 35. Voting Rights Certificate. Additional Voter Rolls**

Should the voter change his residence within the republic but not within the same population point during the period between the general publicizing of the voter rolls and the start of the balloting, the precinct electoral commission at his request and upon submission of a passport or other document identifying him can issue the voter a voting rights certificate. Here a corresponding note is entered in the voting rolls. The voter verifies the obtaining of the certificate with his signature.

On the basis of the voting rights certificate the voter on the election day is put on the supplementary voter rolls at the electoral precinct in the place of his residence.

#### **VI. Proposing of Candidate Deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, Lists of Candidate Deputies, Their Registration and Election Ballots**

##### **Article 36. Presentation of Lists of Candidate Deputies**

The right to present the lists of the candidate deputies or party lists is given to the Georgian parties and electoral blocs participating independently in the elections after registration with the Central Electoral Commission but no later than 35 days prior to the elections.

Each party and electoral bloc participating independently in the elections has the right to put up one party list. The number of candidates on the list should be at least 125 and no more than 250.

A party list can include only members of the given party or nonparty persons, while the party list put up by an electoral bloc would include only the party members brought together in this bloc or nonparty persons. It is not allowed to include on a party list persons who are simultaneously members of another party participating in the elections with the exception of parties combined in a single electoral bloc.

The same individual cannot be included in different party lists.

The procedure for compiling the party lists is determined by the parties and the electoral blocs themselves. The list is compiled considering that the mandates received by the party (or electoral bloc) as a result of the elections are distributed from the head of the list in order.

The party list gives the last name, first name and patronymic, date of birth, profession, position (type of employment), place of work and residence, party affiliation of each candidate.

The list of candidates from a party is verified by the signature of the leader of the party and a list of an electoral bloc by the signatures of the leaders of all parties combined in the bloc. Appended to the list is the agreement of each candidate to run on the given list.

##### **Article 37. Presentation of Candidate Deputies by Electoral Districts**

By submitting a request the parties, electoral blocs and voter groups participating independently in the elections have the right to put up candidate deputies for the electoral districts.

Each party and electoral bloc independently participating in the elections, after the Central Electoral Commission registers the lists of their candidates, has the right no later than 27 days prior to the elections to put up one candidate deputy for each electoral district. A candidate can be only a person included on the registered party list of the corresponding party (electoral bloc). The same person can be put up as a candidate deputy only for one district. The procedure for selecting the candidate deputies is determined by the parties and the electoral blocs themselves. In the aim of putting up a candidate deputy, the party submits a request to the Central Electoral Commission. The request gives the family name, first name and patronymic, date of birth, profession, position (type of employment), place of employment and residence, party affiliation of the candidate deputy, and the number of the electoral district in which he has been put up.

A voter group has the right to put up in an electoral district any person who meets the demands of Article 2 of the current Law, if he is confirmed by at least 500 voters of the given electoral district. The submitting of candidates begins on the 42d day prior to the elections and ends on the 33d day. For this purpose, a voter group no later than 38 days prior to the elections submits the corresponding request to the district electoral commission and after which it has the right to collect the signatures of supporters. The request gives the last name, first name and patronymic, date of birth, profession, position (type of occupation), place of employment and residence, party affiliation of the candidate deputy as well as the identity of the agent of the voter group, his address and telephone number.

##### **Article 38. Lists of Voters Supporting Independent Candidate Deputies**

A candidate deputy put up in an electoral district by a voter group should be supported by at least 500 voters in the given electoral district and who express their support by their signature. The list of voters supporting an independent candidate deputy is submitted to the district electoral commission at least 33 days prior to elections.

At the beginning of each list containing the signatures of the voters supporting the candidate, the identity of the independent candidate deputy is given along with the

text of support. Opposite each signature are the last name, first name and patronymic, date of birth, address, series and number of passport of the signer and the date of signature. Both sides of the sheet can be used for signatures. The signatures are to be numbered. The sheet is signed by a person responsible for collecting the signatures, with the indicating of his address and telephone number.

One voter has the right to sign for the support of just one candidate in his electoral district.

The electoral commissions have the right to verify the authenticity of the signatures. If the same voter supports more than one candidate in his electoral district, then the later signatures are considered invalid. Also considered invalid are forged or forced signatures if the signing voter states this in writing. If for the indicated reasons the number of signatures is less than required, the voter group is instructed within five days to supplement the list of supporting voters. In the event of the failure to meet this condition, the independent candidate is not registered. Protests over the signatures are accepted by the district electoral commission no later than the fifth day after the submission to it of the list of supporting voters.

Only the members of the electoral commissions have the right to be acquainted with the lists of supporting voters and in the event of the initiating of a suit, the court bodies as well.

Some 20 days prior to the elections, the lists of supporting voters are destroyed.

#### **Article 39. Registration of Party Lists and Candidate Deputies Put Up by Electoral Districts**

A party list is registered by the Central Electoral Commission no later than on the fifth day from the submission of the list.

Candidates representing electoral districts are registered by the corresponding district electoral commissions: independent candidates not earlier than the fifth day and no later than the 10th day of their presentation; candidates from parties and electoral blocs no later than the third day from the time of their submission.

After the registering of the party list and the candidate deputies, the corresponding electoral commissions within three days issue identification cards for the candidate deputies to the representative of the party (electoral bloc) or to the candidate deputies. At the same time, the Central Electoral Commission turns over to the district electoral commissions the necessary data on the candidate deputies as presented by the parties (electoral blocs) for their districts.

The decision to register a party list is taken when the following documents are present: the statements and requests over the signature of the party leader (the leaders of the parties comprising the electoral bloc), the

list of candidates, and the statement from each of the candidates on agreeing to run under the given list.

The decision to register candidate deputies who are personally put up in the electoral district is taken when the following documents are present: the submission of the party leader (the leaders of the parties making up the electoral bloc) and the statement from the candidate deputy on his agreement to run in the given electoral district, and for registering an independent candidate deputy, his agreement to run, the statement from the voter group and the list of voters supporting him.

Persons listed in Article 9 of the current Law, when being put up as candidate deputies in their statements point out that they will give up the occupied position in the event they are elected a member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. In accord with Part 2 of Article 2 of the current Law, the candidate deputies in their statements in running indicate that they will give up the duties of a member of any soviet in the event of being elected a member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

The electoral commission issues to the person who has submitted the above-listed documents a receipt which gives the date and time of receiving the documents.

If the documents submitted do not conform to the requirements of the current Law, the commission within five days from receiving the documents informs the individuals who submitted them of this in the aim of rectifying the shortcomings. Corrected documents are submitted to the commission no later than 25 days prior to the elections.

The same individual cannot run under different party lists or on a party list and simultaneously as an independent candidate or for more than one electoral district. If a person has agreed to be included on more than one party list or to be included on a party list and run simultaneously as an independent candidate or run in more than one electoral district, the Central Electoral Commission removes his candidacy from the elections.

The party lists and the last names of the candidate deputies are numbered with the corresponding electoral commission in accord with the order of their submission and are published in the newspapers within five days from final registration. Within the same period, they publish the list of parties for which there has been a refusal to register the party lists as well as the reasons for the refusal.

#### **Article 40. Repeal of a Decision to Put Up a Candidate Deputy to the Georgian Supreme Soviet. The Self-Elimination of a Candidate**

A party or electoral bloc has the right at any time prior to the election to repeal its decision on putting up a candidate deputy. His candidacy is expunged from the list of the Central Electoral Commission on the grounds of a statement signed by the party leader (the leaders of all the parties included in the electoral bloc). In this



instance his candidacy is also lifted in the electoral district. A candidacy cannot be lifted in an electoral district on the grounds of such a statement but left on a party list.

A candidate deputy at any time prior to the elections can remove his candidacy, submitting for this a corresponding statement to the Central (district) Electoral Commission. In the event of his removal of his candidacy on the candidate list, his proposal by the party (electoral bloc) is also cancelled in the electoral district. If a candidate removes his candidacy in an electoral district, he can be left on the list of candidates from a party (electoral bloc).

If after the removal of a candidacy less than 125 candidates remain on the party list, the party list is removed from the elections.

The Central Electoral Commission publishes information about the above-indicated within three days from the receipt of the request, or if less than four days remain until the elections, then immediately.

#### **Article 41. Election Ballots**

Election ballots are made in two colors. On one are entered the names of the parties and electoral blocs in the order in which they submitted the party lists to the Central Electoral Commission. In the event of the removal of a list of party (electoral bloc) candidates, the ordinal numbers of the other lists of candidates and obtained by them with the registering of the lists remain unchanged on the ballot. Along with the name of the electoral bloc, they give the names of the parties joining this bloc. On the other ballot, they give the last name, first name and patronymic, the year of birth, profession, position (type of employment), place of employment, party affiliation of each candidate, the name of the party (electoral bloc) which put up the candidate for deputy (if the candidate deputy was put up on the basis of a statement from a voter group, it should be noted "independent"), in that sequence in which they were submitted to the corresponding electoral commission.

The election ballots are printed by the Central Electoral Commission and the district electoral commissions in Georgian and the Abkhazian language (on the territory of Abkhazia), and when necessary in another language understood by some portion of the population in the electoral district.

The election ballots are to be accurately counted. The Central and district electoral commissions turn over the ballots, respectively, to the district and precinct electoral commissions no later than 5 days prior to the elections. The number of ballots turned over to each district electoral commission should exceed the number of voters in the corresponding electoral district by approximately 10 percent. The chairman, deputy chairman or secretary of the commission confirms the receipt of the ballots by his signature.

#### **VII. Guarantees for the Activities of Parties, Electoral Blocs and Candidate Deputies Participating in Elections**

##### **Article 42. The Right of a Candidate Deputy to Speak at Meetings, to Use the Mass Information Media and Receive Information**

Candidate deputies participate with equal rights in the election campaign from the moment of the registration of the candidate deputy.

Candidate deputies have the right to speak at meetings, assemblies, sessions, in the press, over television and radio.

The state and public bodies, the leaders of enterprises, institutions and organizations and the bodies of public independent activities are obliged to assist the candidate deputies in organizing meetings with the voters and in obtaining the necessary reference materials and information.

##### **Article 43. Election Programs of Parties, Electoral Blocs and Independent Candidates Participating in the Elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet**

A candidate deputy from a party (electoral bloc) has the right to come forward publicly with a program for the future activities of his party (electoral bloc) and an independent candidate may do the same with a program for his future activities. The program of a party (electoral bloc) or independent candidate should not contain the propagandizing of war, appeals for the violent change or overthrow of the existing state and social system, the violating of the territorial integrity of Georgia, for national hate and hostility or for fanning religious prejudice.

The Central and district electoral commissions publish the election programs of the parties, electoral blocs and independent candidates in the republic and local newspapers within 10 days from the registering of the party lists and the independent candidates.

##### **Article 44. Authorized Representatives of Parties, Electoral Blocs and Independent Candidates Participating in the Elections**

Each party and electoral bloc which have submitted party lists can have in each electoral district and an independent candidate in his electoral district 10 authorized representatives who direct the election campaign of the party (electoral bloc) or independent candidate in the corresponding electoral district, they conduct agitation in his favor and represent the interests of the party (electoral bloc) or candidate deputy in relationships with state and public bodies, the voters, as well as on the electoral commissions.

The party (electoral bloc) or the independent candidate deputy choose their authorized representatives and after the registering of the candidate and the party list inform the corresponding district electoral commissions of their representatives. The statement gives the last name, first

name and patronymic, the business and home address and the telephone number of the authorized representative. The district electoral commission within three days of the receipt of the statement registers the authorized representative and issues him the corresponding identification.

A party (electoral bloc) or independent candidate deputy at any time prior to the elections can halt the powers of his authorized representative and replace him, having informed the district electoral commission of this. At any time prior to the elections, the authorized representative can abrogate his powers.

The authorized representatives at the request of an independent candidate deputy, the party leader (the leaders of the electoral bloc) can be released from performing their production and official duties during the time of the election campaign. Here one authorized representative in each electoral district can keep his average wage using funds allocated to hold the elections. The wage is paid at the place of employment and this is drawn up by the appropriate order of the leader of the enterprise, institution, or organization. Upon conclusion of the election campaign, the bill is submitted for payment to the corresponding district electoral commission.

An authorized representative cannot be a member of the electoral commission.

#### **Article 45. Releasing Candidate Deputies From Production or Official Duties for Participation in the Election Campaign**

Candidate deputies after registration are released upon their own request from performing production or official duties for the period of the election campaign or for the time of holding meetings with voters, speaking at assemblies, meetings, by radio and television. Here they keep their average wage using funds allocated for holding the elections.

Candidate deputies may be released on the basis of their own request and the wage is paid to them at their place of employment and this is drawn up in the corresponding order by the leader of the enterprise, institution or organization. Upon conclusion of the election campaign, the bill is submitted for payment to the corresponding Central and district electoral commissions.

A candidate deputy, after registration, cannot be called up for active military service, for military assemblies or labor service. If a candidate deputy is at military courses or in labor service, the service is interrupted until the day after elections. An elected deputy is released from military assemblies and from labor service for the entire term of office.

#### **Article 46. The Right of a Candidate Deputy for Free Travel**

A candidate deputy after registration has the right to free travel within the republic on all types of passenger transport (with the exception of taxis).

#### **Article 47. Immunity of Candidate Deputies**

A candidate deputy cannot be held criminally liable, arrested or subjected to measures of an administrative reprimand within the courts without agreement from the Central Electoral Commission.

#### **Article 48. Campaign Agitation**

The citizens of Georgia, the parties, the public organizations and movements, the labor collectives, the collectives of the specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning and authorized representatives are guaranteed the opportunity of the free and complete discussion of election programs of participating parties, electoral blocs, candidate deputies as well as the political, professional and personal qualities of the candidate deputies, to conduct agitation for or against the party, the electoral bloc, the candidate deputy at assemblies, meetings, in the press, by television or radio, and for this the electoral commissions provide them with offices and places for holding assemblies and meetings.

The parties, electoral blocs and candidate deputies participating in the elections hold meetings with their voters at assemblies or in another convenient form for the voters. The electoral commission together with the executive committee of the corresponding soviet, the public organizations and movement are obliged to assist in holding such meetings and to promptly announce the time and place of their holding.

From the time of registration with the corresponding electoral commission, the parties, electoral blocs and candidate deputies have the right to prepare election appeals, statements, inscriptions, pamphlets, photographic materials and so forth (further in the text "posters"). Posters are a printed product and special permission is not required for manufacturing them. The standards covered by the current Law extend in some regards to posters.

The Central and district electoral commissions together with the corresponding state facilities provide the printing of the election programs for the candidate deputies, the parties and electoral blocs, as well as the campaign posters containing data on the candidate deputies no later than 15 days prior to the elections following the standard: one poster for every 100 voters but at least 500 copies for a candidate put up in an electoral district; 50,000 posters of one type for parties and electoral blocs and for this the corresponding commission within the time established by it is given a sketch and text for the poster.

By the conclusion of the registration of the parties, electoral blocs and candidate deputies participating in the elections, the executive committees of the local soviets, with the agreement of the district and precinct electoral commissions, on the territory of each electoral precinct provide well-populated and easily accessible places to put up the campaign posters.

The executive committees of local soviets can prohibit the placement of campaign posters on individual public buildings out of considerations of protecting architectural and cultural monuments or out of considerations of traffic safety. The bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are obliged to remove such posters.

The removal, tearing, painting over or damaging of campaign posters is prohibited and will be properly punished, if these posters have not been put up in prohibited places.

The posters should not contain propaganda of war, appeals for the violent change or overthrow of the existing state or public system, the violating of Georgia's territorial integrity, for national hate and hostility, for initiating religious prejudice or information defaming the honor and dignity of the individual.

Any agitation on election day, with the exception of agitation material previously put up outside the walls of the voting precinct is not allowed.

#### **Article 49. Participation of the Mass Information Media in the Election Campaign**

The parties, electoral blocs and the candidate deputies put up in the same district, from the moment of registration with the electoral district, with equal rights may use the mass information media.

The party, electoral bloc participating in the elections has the right no later than five days prior to the election to publish its election program or platform in the republic and local press while an independent candidate does the same in the local press, having submitted to the corresponding newspaper the texts of the designated documents no later than 10 days prior to the elections. The order of receipt is observed in the publishing of these documents.

The Central Electoral Commission establishes the procedure for the work of the mass information media in line with the preparations and holding of the elections.

During the last 10 days prior to the elections, it is not permitted to publish the results of any public opinion polls related to the elections.

### **VIII. Procedure for Voting and Establishing Election Results**

#### **Article 50. Time and Place of Voting**

In electing deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, voting is carried out on election day from 0700 to 2000

hours. The precinct electoral commission informs the voters of the time and place of voting no later than five days prior to the elections.

During the voting, it is not permitted to close the voting precincts or halt the balloting.

At the electoral precincts formed in hospitals and other inpatient medical facilities, on vessels which are at sea on election day and in inaccessible places, the precinct electoral commission can announce the voting complete at any time, if all the voters included on the rolls have voted.

#### **Article 51. Organization of Voting**

Voting is carried out in specially assigned rooms which are not to be used by just one party. In these rooms there should be a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret balloting and places designated for issuing the election ballots and setting up ballot boxes. Ballot boxes are set up in such a manner that the voters in approaching them without fail pass through the booths or rooms for secret balloting. There should be pens in the booths (rooms) for secret balloting. In the quarters and the rooms for voting they should put up lists of candidates from the parties and electoral blocs as well as candidates personally put up for the corresponding electoral district.

The precinct electoral commission bears responsibility for organizing the voting, for ensuring the secret expression of voter will, for equipping the quarters and maintaining the necessary order in them. On election day, the chairman of the precinct electoral commission is responsible for observing order in the voting precinct and its surroundings. The carrying out of decisions taken by him for the purposes of observing order are obligatory for all. Armed persons may not be permitted to come into the voting precinct. An on-duty police official can be in the voting precinct only with the permission of the commission chairman. A voter can remain in the voting precinct only for the time required to vote.

On election day prior to the start of the voting, the ballot boxes are inspected and sealed by the chairman of the corresponding commission in the presence of the commission members after which a control sheet is dropped in the box and this is signed by the commission members and is the first voter for balloting; on the sheet they note the time it was dropped in the box.

Each voter votes personally. It is not permitted to vote on behalf of other persons. The ballots are issued by the precinct electoral commission on the basis of the voter rolls or the voting rights certificate upon presentation by the voter of his passport or other document identifying him as well as the voter card. The voter verifies the receipt of his ballot by signing the voter roll. The voting rights certificate is attached to the supplementary voter roll.



Citizens who by error have not been put on the voter roll are entered on the supplementary voter roll on the basis of personal identification and a document from the place of residence.

In instances when individual voters because of state of health or for other reasons cannot be present at the voting precinct, the precinct electoral commission at their request may assign commission members to organize balloting at the place of residence of the voters on the basis of an appendix to the voter roll and the corresponding note about this is made in the voter roll. In this instance at least two commission members participate in organizing the voting. One portable ballot box is used for voting in this manner. In the same procedure voting is carried out in instances when the voter is in a place of incarceration without a court sentence.

#### Article 52. The Holding of Voting

The election ballots are filled out by the voter in the booth or room for secret balloting. No one can be present in filling out the ballots. A voter who is unable to fill out a ballot independently has the right to bring into the booth or room another person at his discretion, with the exception of a member of the electoral commission, an authorized representative or a representative of a candidate deputy (party or electoral bloc).

In electing deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet the voter on one ballot circles the number of the party or the electoral bloc for which he is voting and on the other the number of the candidate deputy for whom he is voting.

The voter drops the filled-out ballot into the ballot box.

The voting precinct closes at 2000 hours. The voters who are in the precinct by this time can vote.

#### Article 53. Counting Votes at the Electoral Precinct

The following sequence should be observed in counting the votes:

- 1) After the end of the voting, the electoral commission counts and packs up the unused ballots. On the package they write the name and number of the electoral precinct, the type and number of unused ballots; the package is signed by the commission chairman, his deputy and secretary and is affixed with the commission's seal;
- 2) The precinct electoral commission establishes from the basic and supplementary voter rolls the overall number of voters at the electoral precinct and the number of election participants, that is, the voters who received a ballot;
- 3) The chairman of the electoral commission in the presence of the commission members inspects the integrity of the seal on the ballot boxes, he opens them and verifies the presence of the control sheets in the boxes;

4) The commission counts separately the number of ballots of different color in the boxes, that is, the number of participants in the voting and the number of ballots considered invalid (considered invalid are ballots of improper form and ballots from which it is impossible to establish for whom the voter voted. In all other instances, the ballots are considered valid). The different-colored ballots which are considered invalid are put in separate envelopes and sealed in such a manner that it would be impossible without damaging the seal to pull out a ballot from the envelope or put one in. On the envelopes, they write the name and number of the electoral precinct, the number of ballots included in them and their type;

5) The commission sorts and counts separately the number of votes given to each candidate and each party list. After this, the ballots are packaged in the same manner as indicated in Point 4;

6) The precinct electoral commission at its session reviews the results of counting the votes and enters these in a protocol. The number of copies of the protocol should exceed by two copies the number of personally presented candidates, the number of parties and electoral blocs entered on the election ballot. Each copy of the protocol is signed by the commission chairman, his deputy, the secretary and the commission members and is fixed with the commission's seal;

7) The first copy of the protocol and all the election ballots are immediately dispatched to the appropriate district electoral commission in the procedure established by it, while the second copy is kept at the precinct electoral commission itself, with one copy being presented to the representatives of the personally running candidates, the parties and electoral blocs.

With the development of doubts as to the validity of an election ballot, the question is settled by the precinct electoral commission by voting.

#### Article 54. Establishing the Election Results in an Electoral District by the District Electoral Commission

A district electoral commission on the basis of the protocols received from the precinct electoral commissions establishes the following: the number of unused ballots, the total number of voters in the electoral precinct, the number of voters who participated in the elections, the number of voters who participated in voting, the number of votes given to each candidate and each party list as well as the number of ballots considered invalid.

A candidate deputy is considered elected on the first round in an electoral district if he in the elections received more than one-half the votes of the voters who participated in the balloting, if the elections were considered valid.

The elections are considered valid if over one-half of the total number of voters in the electoral district participated in them.

The district electoral commission can judge the elections invalid in those electoral precincts where a flagrant violation of the current Law was committed. A protest for such a violation is submitted to the district electoral commission no later than the following day after the elections.

If the elections are considered valid but none of the candidates has received over one-half of the votes of the voters who participated in the elections, the district electoral commission sets a runoff (if the number of candidates did not exceed two, the Central Electoral Commission schedules repeat elections). The district electoral commission can, when necessary, schedule a runoff in those instances when the elections were judged invalid in the district or precinct.

If the elections for an electoral district were considered invalid, the district electoral commission holds a second round of elections within 2 weeks.

The district electoral commission at its session confirms the election results and draws up a protocol.

The number of copies of the protocol should exceed by two the number of personally running candidates, the number of parties and electoral blocs included on the ballot. All copies of the protocol are to be signed by the commission chairman, his deputy, the secretary and commission members and affixed with the commission seal.

The first copy of the protocol and the unused ballots no later than three days after the holding of the elections are dispatched to the Central Electoral Commission in the procedure set by it. The second copy of the protocol is kept at the district electoral commission itself and one copy is sent to the authorized representatives of the personally running candidates, the parties and electoral blocs.

#### **Article 55. Establishing Election Results by the Central Electoral Commission**

The Central Electoral Commission on the basis of the protocols received from the district electoral commissions establishes the following: the total number of voters in Georgia, the number of voters who participated in the elections, the number of voters who participated in the voting, the number of votes given to each party list and the number of invalid ballots.

The Central Electoral Commission establishes four percent of the voters who participated in the voting. The lists of candidates which did not receive four percent of the votes are not given a deputy mandate.

Then the Central Electoral Commission establishes the common divider and for which the number of votes given for each list of candidate deputies is successively

divided by 1, 2, 3 and so forth. The numbers received as a result of the division should be ranked in diminishing order in such a manner that their total number equals the number 125. The smallest of these numbers is the common divider.

The number of deputy mandates received by each party and electoral bloc is determined from the common divider. For establishing this amount, the number of votes received by each party list is divided by the common divider. The whole number obtained as a result of the division (the carryover is not taken into account) is the number of mandates received by the party list. Those candidate deputies are considered elected whose ordinal numbers in the corresponding party list is less than or equal to the number of mandates received by this list.

The Central Electoral Commission within five days after the completion of the elections at its session gives the election results for the party lists and for the electoral districts and enters these in a protocol.

If a candidate deputy has been elected both from an electoral district and under a party list, he is considered elected from the electoral district and on the list the next candidates move up to the top of the list. The number of deputies elected from the given list remains fixed. If here the number of candidate deputies on the list is less than the number of mandates received by the list, the surplus mandates are cancelled.

The number of copies of the protocol should exceed by two copies the number of parties and electoral blocs included on the ballot. Each copy of the protocol is signed by the chairman, the deputy chairman, the secretary and members of the Central Electoral Commission and is affixed with the commission seal.

The first copy of the protocol is kept by the Central Electoral Commission and one copy is turned over to each of the Credentials Commission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet and to the representatives of the parties and electoral blocs.

The protocol gives the names and numbers of the districts and precincts in which the elections are invalidated and the number of voters in them; the total number of voters, the total number of participants in the elections, the number of voters who participated in the voting; the number of votes given to each party list, the number of invalid ballots, the number of mandates received by the parties and electoral blocs participating in the elections, the list of elected deputies by parties and electoral blocs and with the observance of their ranking in the lists of candidates as well as the results of the elections held in the electoral districts.

The Central Electoral Commission a week after the elections schedules a runoff for the lists of candidates in those precincts where the elections were invalidated in accord with Article 56 of the current Law.

Within five days after summing up the results, the Central Electoral Commission in the republic newspapers, by television and radio publicizes an announcement on the election results. Along with the data given in Part 9 of the current article, the announcement gives party ranking, year of birth, profession, position (type of employment) and place of employment of the elected deputies.

#### Article 56. Runoffs

A runoff in an electoral district is held if:

- 1) In the district more than two candidates were put up, the elections were held but none of the candidates gained over one-half of the votes of the voters participating in the balloting;
- 2) The elections in the district are considered invalid (if the elections were considered invalid for one or several precincts, it is possible to hold a runoff solely for these precincts).

In the first instance, a runoff is held two weeks after the elections and the two candidates run who in the first round received the larger number of votes. The candidate who in the runoff receives more votes is considered elected.

In the event that two or several candidates in the first round of elections or in a runoff receive an equal number of votes, privilege is given to the older candidate.

In the second instance, the runoff is held a week after the elections and the results are determined in the procedure set for the first round of elections. If the elections are held but a deputy is not elected, a week later another runoff is held (if the number of candidates is not more than two, repeat elections are scheduled), and if the elections were not held, a second round of elections is scheduled a week later.

A runoff for the party lists is held a week after elections in precincts where the elections were invalidated, if the total number of voters in the given precincts exceeds 10 percent of the number of voters in Georgia.

#### Article 57. The Second Round of Elections

A second round of elections in an electoral district is scheduled two weeks after the elections in the event that the elections in this district were considered invalid. All candidates who participated in the first round have the right to participate in the second round. Elections in the second round are considered valid if over a quarter of the district voters participated in them. A candidate is considered elected if he has gained a larger number of votes in comparison with the others but at least one-quarter of the votes of the voters who participated in the voting. If several candidates have gained an equal number of votes, but each at least one-quarter of the votes of the voting participants, the older candidate is considered elected.

In the event a deputy has not been elected or the elections were invalid, the Central Electoral Commission schedules new elections which are held within two months after the second round.

#### IX. Publishing Election Results, Identification Credentials and Chest Insignia of a Member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet

##### Article 58. Registration of Deputies Elected to the Georgian Supreme Soviet and Publishing the Election Results

The Central Electoral Commission within five days after summing up the election results registers the deputies elected to the Georgian Supreme Soviet and announces the election results in the republic newspapers and over television and radio. The announcement gives the total number of voters in Georgia and for each electoral district, the number of voters who participated in the balloting, the number of votes given to each candidate, for the lists of candidates from each party and electoral bloc, the number of invalid ballots, the name and number of those districts and precincts where the elections were invalidated and the number of voters in them, the list of deputies elected by parties and electoral blocs, in observing the sequence in which the elected deputies were ranked in the candidate lists, and the list of deputies elected in the electoral districts. Along with this, they give the last name, name and patronymic, party affiliation, year of birth, profession, position (type of employment) and place of employment of each deputy.

##### Article 59. Identification Credentials and Chest Insignia of Member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet

The Central and district electoral commissions, after publishing in the press the list of deputies elected to the Georgian Supreme Soviet and registered by the Central Electoral Commission, issue to each elected deputy identification credentials on his election to the members of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

After the affirmation of the powers of the deputies elected to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the identification credentials for being elected a member of the Supreme Soviet is replaced for identification credentials as a member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. A chest insignia is also presented to the member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

#### X. Repeat Elections and the Procedure for Determining the Successor in the Place of a Deputy Who Has Withdrawn

##### Article 60. Repeat Elections

If in an electoral district where there were not more than two candidates and in the first round the elections were considered valid but a deputy was not elected, within two months after the holding of the first round, repeat elections are held; if a candidate is not chosen in the second round or the elections are invalidated, within two months after the holding of the second round, repeat elections are held.



Having the right to put up candidate deputies are those parties and electoral blocs who participated in the first round of elections as well as the voter groups in the order established by the current Law. Other electoral measures are carried out in the procedure set by the current Law at the dates set by the Central Electoral Commission. The announcement of the repeat elections is published in the press.

**Article 61. Procedure for Determining the Successor for the Place of a Deputy Who Has Withdrawn**

In the event when the powers of the individual deputies of the Georgian Supreme Soviet are considered invalid as well as in the event of the retirement of a member of the Supreme Soviet or the early termination of his powers for various reasons, in the corresponding electoral districts within three months from the withdrawal of the deputy or the member of the Supreme Soviet new elections are conducted. The elections are scheduled by the Central Electoral Commission no later than two months before the holding of the elections and are carried out in observing the requirements of the current Law. Here the precinct electoral commissions are formed a month prior to the elections.

If a deputy or member of the Supreme Soviet who has withdrawn was elected under a party list, his place in the Georgian Supreme Soviet is taken by a candidate deputy next on the list for the deputies elected under the corresponding party list, if there is both his agreement to this as well as the agreement of the corresponding party (electoral bloc). Otherwise, the vacant position is taken by the following candidate who should meet the same conditions and so forth. The Central Electoral Commission within two weeks submits the documentation necessary for validating his powers to the Credentials Commission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. If there are no more candidate deputies on the party list, then this place of the deputy is abolished.

If a member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet has withdrawn less than a year prior to completing the term of office for the members of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, no election is held for a deputy to the Georgian Supreme Soviet to replace the member who has left; a deputy who has left is also not replaced under a party list.

Chairman of the Presidium of the

Georgian Supreme Soviet G. Gumbaridze

Secretary of the Presidium of the

Georgian Supreme Soviet V. Kvaratskheliya

Tbilisi

18 August 1990

**Editorial Comments on Kazakh President Nazarbayev's Performance**

90US1260

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh of 1 August 1990 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 4500-word editorial entitled "The Hundred Days of the President." The article, comprised of an editorial introduction along with solicited comments by six Kazakh citizens (an engineer, a worker, a shepherd, a student and one other), seeks to evaluate the performance of Kazakh president Nazarbayev by looking specifically at initiatives so far advanced by him in five areas: 1) improvement of benefits for veterans of the Great Patriotic War and their survivors, 2) restoration of the abolished oblasts of Mangyshlak and Torgay, 3) measures to protect the health and wellbeing of children living near the Aral, 4) enhanced struggle against crime and 5) urgent measures to strengthen state and labor discipline. Comments are by and large laudatory, although certain critical themes are also evident.

One theme, expressed in particular by Ospan Seytqaliyev, engineer of the "Zavodstroy" Construction Administration of "Tengisneftegazstroy" Trust, is the urgent need to resolve the republic sovereignty question, something which will have a particular impact upon Tengiz oil field development, which must take place to the benefit of the Kazakhstan, and not to provide the rest of the USSR with cheap energy. The second theme, expressed by all, is that these are difficult times which are proving a trial to all, some (pensioners, those living near the Aral, particularly children, women) more than others. Thus Bawyrzhan Abdirazaqov, student in the Kazakh State University, stresses the need to fight the increased crime which he sees as a sign of the times more effectively (and primarily at the local level) and encourages the president in his initiative. In this he is seconded by A. Akhmetova, who also stresses the need for more order in Kazakh society. However, she emphasizes, what is needed are improved living conditions and a new economic system to provide them. Increased social order alone will never solve current problems, only fundamental economic reform will.

**Ukrainian Sovereignty Issues Discussed**

90UN2596A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
14 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Aleksandr Pavlovich Kotsyuba, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commission on Legislative and Constitutional Issues, by Parliamentary Correspondent V. Nikipelov: "It Is Impossible To Build the Future on Emotions"]

[Text] Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Commission on Legislative and Constitutional Issues Chairman Answers our Parliamentary Correspondent's Questions

Kotsyuba, Aleksandr Pavlovich, born 1939, Ukrainian, CPSU member, lawyer (graduated from Kiev State University imeni T.G. Shevchenko), and candidate of legal sciences. Worked as an associate professor at the Ukrainian SSR Republic Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] Higher School of Management prior to being elected a people's deputy from Kiev's Radyanskiy Electoral District. Confirmed as permanent commission chairman and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium member.

[Nikipelov] Your commission very actively participated in preparing and developing the draft Declaration on Sovereignty. What difficulties did it encounter?

[Kotsyuba] I think that far from everyone has yet sensed how important this document is that confirms the actual right of the people to self-determination and the nation's state sovereignty. It is a document that protects individual rights and guarantees. Therefore, our commission is very carefully examining each of the proposed variants and its members have entered into debates and heated arguments. At times, we could dispute the wording of some proposal or even the use of some individual word in some context.

As we all know, six variants of the draft declaration were submitted to the sovereignty commission (I promulgated one more from the session podium—my own—and it is already in the process of a preliminary reading). All of them were reduced to one draft which our commission also joined in developing during the final stage. During this entire time, other deputies also introduced a mass of corrections and proposals. And I am certain that their analysis has not been a total waste of time. At times, each provision was polished during difficult discussions. In my opinion, I think this universal interest was dictated first of all by the aspiration of each deputy to create the optimum and most well thought-out document.

Can you imagine what a responsibility this is? It is very easy to disrupt some of the system's ties and relations between nations, republics, the Union, and in international relations. Besides all of this, this document must also foreordain the content of the future Republic Constitution.

Incidentally, I have already developed one of the variants of its conception and I will soon acquaint members of our commission with it. After their comments and proposals, we could acquaint society with its text. The people have always been our wise advisors who know all of life's out of the way places.

[Nikipelov] Judging by your numerous statements, you are against secession from the Union?

[Kotsyuba] Everyone needs to seriously ponder what secession means....

[Nikipelov] This literally means to chop off all the branches....

[Kotsyuba] That is completely correct. Let us say the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians have one tree of life. Representatives of these peoples live together in friendship in all of our Slavic republics. Many of them have intermarried. And this brotherhood has been proven by the centuries. So, as you have pointed out, do we literally need to chop off all of these branches? It is true that some propose that we do this. But I think that they are motivated simply by insufficiently well-thought out political emotions. What does it mean for the republics to be broken up and delimited? Do borders actually exist between our countries today? We are really socializing with each other like in one of our own, I will say it figuratively, peasant huts. That is how it must also be in the future but based on our total sovereignty.

Today we are moving toward government by the people and we want to ensure our people's happiness. And a new Union, created on a fundamentally new basis, can do this. The main thing is that everyone also hears us and that we also hear everyone. This will unite people of various nationalities and will balance the rights of each nation, each people, and each individual. It is impossible to build the future on political emotions alone.

We need to cast aside everything that interferes with living and more fully utilize our enormous common intellectual potential which won the recognition of world civilization. I think that it would be an unpardonable error not to utilize it. We need to look ahead.

Russia has already made a rational step in this context from which proposals are coming forth about concluding an inter-republic treaty with the Ukraine. I think that we need to conclude inter-republic agreements before we conduct discussions on a Union Treaty. All of this could also become the foundation and the first stage toward a new Union Treaty that would insure both the state sovereignty of the republics and the necessary conditions for development of deep republic ties and would provide a guarantee for those common economic programs that are needed for joint cooperation and coordination.

[Nikipelov] In other words, how we work is also how we must live. Sovereign relations within the [Soviet] Union can be ensured only when no one lives at the expense of another....

[Kotsyuba] You have caught the essence very well. Actually, we need to cast off negative union departmental conglomerations in which multi-million ruble appropriations and hard currency income for goods and equipment produced in the Ukraine and raw materials extracted from us flow together behind the back of our republic budget. Our people must control both their own wealth and their own fate.

[Nikipelov] Today many people are troubled by the army issue. How do you view it?

[Kotsyuba] We are wary of many future reorganizations and innovations since even yesterday no one would have even thought about suggesting anything like this. But we

need to calmly look at everything. For example, at the dawn of Soviet rule, the Sovnarkom [Soviet of People's Commissars] adopted a decree on the establishment of national military formations in the Ukraine. In 1944, a resolution was adopted for the Ukraine to have its own Army. For various reasons, these decisions were not carried out but the idea originated with the union government and it did not seem outrageous to anyone. And that is not surprising. A sovereign state must have an army. So, today why are we so afraid of this approach? Why must we send our boys to risk their lives in Armenia and Azerbaijan? Yes, we need our own national army and our own internal and border troops but—I am deeply convinced—that we also need All-Union Strategic Armed Forces that maybe through their organizational structure in some way remind us of already existing military pacts.

[Nikipelov] But this thought can be heard from a number of deputies in this context: But why do we still also need strategic forces since no one is planning to attack us. What is your opinion on this score?

[Kotsyuba] You know they say that inexpensive power is very expensive. And such inexpensive calculations are a very expensive savings. While advocating peaceful coexistence, we nevertheless must perceive the world as it is. And it is being maintained at a military parity. And the Ukraine must contribute its just share to the cause of defense. Furthermore, we must adhere to military neutrality in the future.

[Nikipelov] How do you regard the idea of establishing a Crimean-Tatar Autonomous Republic?

[Kotsyuba] More than 150 peoples, nationalities, and ethnic groups reside in the Ukraine. Therefore, we need to approach the resolution of any national issue very carefully in a well thought-out manner. As for the Crimea, it would not be entirely appropriate to establish Crimean-Tatar autonomy. I would propose national and cultural autonomy of the Crimean peoples—this would more genuinely reflect the situation that has developed on this peninsula where about 49 percent Russians, nearly 14 percent Ukrainians, many Germans and Bulgarians, and already right now only about seven percent Tatars live at present.

[Nikipelov] We can also hear various views on the subordination of the court and the procurator's office. What is your point of view?

[Kotsyuba] These are very painful issues for us. But if we proclaim the Ukraine to be a sovereign state in a truly equal union with the other republics, then our republic procurator must be confirmed by the Ukrainian Parliament and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet must be the highest and final judicial organ in our republic. I think that Gosarbitrazh [State Board of Arbitration] must also be subjected to radical reform that would transform it into one of the main boards of the Supreme Court. Life requires the creation of a single preliminary investigations committee by taking these functions from

internal affairs, KGB, and procurator's office organs. I think that the Bar must also be raised to a higher level by strengthening the legal services of enterprises and organizations.

All of this would permit us to increase the people's trust in the triumph of legality. Our commission is working very intensely in this context. We have already met with employees of the Republic Procurator's Office and the Ministry of Justice and we have visited the Supreme Court. Frank dialogues on the ways to build a rule-of-law state have been conducted everywhere....

[Nikipelov] Let us return to the work of parliament. Do you not think that it would be good if many deputies moderated their political ambitions?

[Kotsyuba] Yes, I think it would be. I myself am friendly toward the "Democratic Bloc" but I frequently have to fight with its representatives although extreme views are also encountered among representatives of other blocs and groups. Today we all need a well thought-out, wise policy. I hope that reason will prevail.

[Nikipelov] We really are talking about the happiness of our children and grandchildren....

[Kotsyuba] Of course. And that is why you can also hear appeals for the dissolution of our parliament today. But who has pondered the consequences of this event in our troubled time? Do we once again start from zero? These are simply rally ambitions for the time being.

[Nikipelov] Incidentally, in our country, this problem has found its reflection in the recently published article "So, Just What Does the Opposition Want?". All of these accents are there.

[Kotsyuba] I think that the newspaper has correctly sensed this direction and is correctly continuing it.

### **Press Conference After Adoption of Ukrainian Sovereignty**

90UN2597A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
18 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by parliamentary correspondent A. Sokol: "History-Making Moment"]

[Text] Our parliamentary correspondent reports on a press conference devoted to the adoption of a Declaration on state sovereignty of the Ukraine.

The Supreme Soviet of the republic adopted a Declaration on state sovereignty of the Ukraine on Monday, July 16. The result of voting speaks for itself: 355 - "in favor", 4 - "against", and 26 did not vote. Deputies welcomed it with a storm of prolonged applause. Those holding a meeting by the building rejoiced as well.

The basic provisions of the declared sovereignty are as follows: independence and absolute power on its territory, independence in foreign relations; land and its mineral wealth, all of the economic, technical, and



scientific potential are the property of the people of the republic; supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the Ukrainian SSR; its own citizenship and guaranteed right to the USSR citizenship; its own bank (including foreign economic), price, financial, customs, and tax systems, and if necessary - its own monetary unit; free national and cultural development; the right to its own armed forces, its own internal troops, and state security organs.

Several deputies reported that they did not vote because of the lack of diskettes, but they would like to join those who approved the Declaration. One can understand the "petitioners": the vote was by roll-call. The session complied with their request.

Many wanted to have their say about the adopted Declaration. The speeches were passionate and sincere. The point was: The Declaration is a history-making document, but the most difficult thing, putting it into practice, is ahead. The discussion of a number of problems continued after the meetings of the Supreme Soviet at a press conference. Its participants included journalists of central, republic, and local publications, accredited foreign correspondents, as well as heads and employees of general consulates of foreign countries in Kiev. Those who came to meet journalists were first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet I.S. Plyushch, heads of permanent commissions N.A. Shulga and A.P. Kotsyuba, second secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee L.M. Kravchuk, representing the Deputies' group 'For Soviet Sovereign Ukraine', chairman of a commission, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR I.R. Yukhnovskiy, heading the opposition 'Narodna Rada', and mining technician-electrician, Deputy V.I. Kozarenko. Each of them spoke about their feelings, concerns and worries.

It was noted, in particular, that the Declaration absorbed different views and different convictions. As a result of numerous discussions in commissions and at the session, over 70 typewritten pages of proposals and remarks were accumulated. There were discussions and fierce arguments. The section "Armed Forces" (this is its original title) was practically written by the Supreme Soviet.

Introduction of republican citizenship aroused most of the criticism and arguments. And this is not by chance: they were talking about the right and freedom of an individual. Not of a people, not of a nation, - but of an individual. It was determined in the course of sincere debates that the republic guarantees every citizen the right to keep USSR citizenship as well. Care of an individual, of his rights and freedoms is a characteristic feature of the Declaration as a whole.

Journalists were informed that the work on this document united most different deputies, and this is very significant. The following thing was mentioned as well. Now it is in fashion to blame CPSU members. But it was the March 1990 Plenum of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, and then the Republic CP Congress, that passed the decision on sovereignty of the Ukraine. Miner

V. Kozarenko noted that the demands of the striking miners began with the point on the necessity to adopt a declaration on the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR. And now it was adopted. I would like our children, said the representative of miners, to begin every school year with a lesson on this document.

Parliament leaders and parliamentarians answered questions of mass media representatives willingly and without any unnecessary diplomacy.

Correspondents of military publications asked questions on the section of the Declaration titled "Foreign and Internal Security". There was an exclamation: "How are you going to divide the Black Sea Navy?" Three parliament members volunteered to speak. They explained: the point was not military partition and mutual confrontation. The republic had national military formations in 1918, 1920, and in 1944. Such units are to put things in order in their own home, to protect its security without infringing upon the interests of other republics. It was noted that if the people of the Ukraine had control of their own armed forces, their children would not have been in Afghanistan, they would not have been sent to Azerbaijan and Armenia. Let the union strategic forces remain; there is no need to divide the Navy. The following circumstance was also specified: from now on the republic received the right to have its say with regard to the military service of their young men. It will take into account local peculiarities and circumstances.

One of the provisions of the Declaration provides for the right of the republic to a portion of the all-union diamond and hard currency fund, and gold reserve. Your correspondent wondered how that portion could be determined and what it would mean for the republic. Here are the answers. In the form of a summary of course.

[I. Yukhnovskiy] The central bank used to draw up all the money and then distribute it among the republics as a handout earlier as well as now. It is assumed that the republic will form its budget by itself. To do that it needs appropriate conditions: it needs a national bank, in particular.

[I. Shulga] There is one more aspect as well. Having the right does not mean an urge to implement it by all means. The right of a republic to a portion of the union wealth makes it an equal partner. There arises a necessity to create such a system of mutual relations under which a republic would not be interested in looking for its portion.

[L. Kravchuk] I would like to quote the following figures. The USSR foreign debt is 50 billion dollars, ten of which falls on our republic. The internal debt totals accordingly 400 and 80 billion rubles. If we have the right to diamonds and gold, then we are also obliged to pay off the debts. And one more figure: we shall need about 400 million dollars to be able to issue our own money. All that should be known.

A correspondent of the Ukrainian Radio asked to comment on the provision of the Declaration that states care of the republic for the ecological safety of its citizens and the genetic fund of the people, the right of the republic to reimbursement of the losses inflicted on the ecology by union organs. Comments were interesting. The following figures were quoted: according to the pre-revolutionary census there were 37 million Ukrainians in the Ukraine. And today their number is approximately the same. There is a question, as they say. Bulgarians, Greeks, and Germans have the same question. The problem requires a solution. And, first of all, it is connected with the Chernobyl catastrophe. A deliberately strained, but convincing warning was made: "We should not give birth to mutants!"

Here is a formula to preserve and protect the environment: any action, and construction first of all, is supposed to have a specific manager and his responsibility. The notorious concept of "the whole people's property" should be done away with. Journalists raised the following question: what is being done to implement the declared sovereignty? Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet I. Plyushch said that the Declaration is only the first step. The next steps will be a new Constitution of the republic and laws. Deputies became concerned about that right after the adoption of the Declaration. They are now considering the structure of the future government proceeding from the positions of this document.

Journalists representing youth newspapers addressed their questions directly to Ukrainian CP Central Committee Second Secretary L. Kravchuk. One of them concerned the resignation of Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Chairman V.A. Ivashko. In his reply L. Kravchuk emphasized the following moments. The Declaration on sovereignty puts the rights and freedom of an individual in the forefront. This concerns Vladimir Antonovich Ivashko as well. The form of resignation is also his prerogative.

L. Kravchuk emphasized that today's task is to elect a new chairman who could be accepted by all deputies and who would work with different deputies' groups.

This topic received an unusual continuation. L. Kravchuk was asked if he withdraws his nomination in case he is nominated for the post of chairman.

"This is a delicate question," he said. "I have the right to say it is my secret. But here is what conclusion I came to after the previous elections of a chairman. The Democratic bloc nominated nine candidates and used the parliamentary rostrum for its own purposes, including not very plausible ones, even though many reasonable things were said. If I am nominated, I will use the rostrum as well. In full. As for accepting, I shall speak about it after I use the rostrum."

It was known before the press conference that the Supreme Soviet approved a decision to consider July 16 the Independence Day of the Ukraine and to observe it every year as a state national holiday of the republic.

Having reminded journalists of that, it was emphasized the road lying ahead is difficult. The Parliament needs concordance and constructive work. An apprehension was expressed lest the Declaration be struck with our unkind "tradition" of looking for vices in what has been done and reviling that.

It was noted at the press conference that from now on our people are true masters of the republic, and a master must work in a proprietor's way. If this does not happen, no declarations will help.

### Deputies Interviewed On Adoption of Ukrainian Sovereignty

90UN2622A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 19 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with M.O. Shulha, the head of the permanent commission concerning issues of inter-republic and international relations and S.P. Holovaty, a people's deputy of Ukraine, by A. Kraslyansky: "The Red Day of the Calendar"]

[Text] This interview was taken just after the heated sessions of the Higher Council of the Ukrainian SSR during which a magnificent document was accepted—the Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty. M.O. Shulha is the head of the permanent commission concerning issues of inter-republic and international relations, and is a person who was not only near the people who created this document, but who herself also coordinated and worked out all of its proposals, which were issued in torrents from the deputies; she sought a consensus among the various groups of deputies; she eased passions to a considerable degree, which became inflamed continually around specific proposals in the declaration.

S.P. Holovaty is a people's deputy of Ukraine, one of the authors of the alternative project of the declaration, and an active enthusiast in the creation of this document.

### M.O. Shulha: 'This Is a New Stage in the History of Our People'

[Kraslyansky] Mykola Oleksandrovych, finally, after many days of waiting, to which our republic has been paying close attention, the historical document has been accepted. Tell us briefly about your views of the declaration.

[Shulha] The Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty is a profound and important document in terms of its consequences; its level [of importance] is difficult to compare to anything similar to it from recent years. It is no less meaningful than the republic constitution, for it will become the basis for working out a new constitution and all other documents which will be created in the future. In other words, this is a declaration of a new approach to the understanding of the status of the Ukraine in the system of inter-republic and international relations.

We also, perhaps, have not become fully conscious of, nor analyzed the consequences which issue from it.

However, the fact that this is a decisive moment in the history of the republic, a new step in furthering democratization and in enlarging the degree of the Ukraine's freedom, leaves no room for doubts.

The accepted document also has enormous significance from the point of view of today's political situation. Take note that the declaration was accepted exactly two months after the proceedings of our session began. And the fact that this period culminated with the acceptance of such a stellar document cannot but cause one to rejoice. Let us recall how difficult it was to encourage widespread public participation at the beginning of the session; how during the first few weeks of work, on the what seemed to be a rather dubious basis, the public flared up, expressing a variety of passions; and how difficult it was to "scratch" the people's thoughts. They waited impatiently for actual results, even though everyone understood that time was needed for the deputies to fully express themselves, to advance their positions, and simply to become accustomed to them so that they would not just listen to various views being expressed, but would also learn to see in the conceptions of others something positive. And we attained them [results]. The work on the Declaration of Sovereignty, its final form was the result of this long, preparatory work.

[Kraslyansky] You are obviously familiar with similar documents, which were accepted in other soviet republics. Would you be able, to at least in passing, compare them to the Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty?

[Shulha] First of all, I can say that our declaration is more broad. It has a rather well organized underlying structure. It has a preamble; the sections are entitled, which immediately introduces the reader into the sphere of certain problems.

In its depth, forgive me for lacking some degree of modesty, it is more perfect and exact than other republics'. It has points in it which were left untouched by other declarations. Specifically, we stated more precisely what we mean by the self-recognition of the Ukrainian nation. At the same time we are supporting the development of other national groups, which live on the republic's territory. We stated that we see it as an obligation to care for their national-cultural development, foreseeing the creation of their territorial, national-administrative units within the framework of the existing law.

In our declaration more is stated about the economic independence of the republic; more precise things are stated about the view of all-union ownership. It is also precisely stated that we have the right to acquire general-union property, which is created, for example, by the gold and diamond funds. We are not saying that we are taking them away, but rather that we are defending our interests, stressing this point within a lawful framework. Moving on. Such a complicated, delicate question, like defense (we called it external and internal security), is only in our declaration. We expressed the right to possibly defend our sovereignty, and the point that a

citizen of the Ukrainian SSR, as a rule, should serve his term in the army on the territory of the republic. This reflects the fears felt today, inasmuch as our youths sometimes perish on the territory of other republics, especially where inter-national conflicts are going on.

It is characteristic that we have clearly spelled out what kind of attitude we will assume for a renewed type of union state. It is to be made up of sovereign nations, and we have stated in our concluding sentences that we will be supporting disarmament in the new union treaty. We clearly expressed ourselves concerning ecological preservation.

[Kraslyansky] A declaration is first of all a political document. What do you see as the mechanism for putting it into practice?

[Shulha] We should take care to concern ourselves with the daily agenda of the next few sessions. During the proceedings our work should reflect those main points, which have been worked into the declaration and which need to be worked out further. It is clear that we need to accurately define our position by establishing a commission, which would consistently put into practice the principles which were declared in the declaration.

A number of proposals of this document have already been carried out today. Just recently we listened to and approved a concept of activity for the new government and principles of its formation. This is a question which cannot be examined as it was before the acceptance of the declaration. This is the point with which V.A. Masol began his speech; he has relied on the proposals of the accepted declaration quite a few times. In such a manner, all the legislative acts will be passed. Now when we will be involved in talks of making new treaties with the other union republics, we cannot move beyond the creation of a new union, for which there is a strong legal, economic, and political base.

[Kraslyansky] You have already touched on this great and complex process of working on creating the aforementioned document, the search for wisdom, for the golden mean. You, as the head of the commission, perhaps, were simply not in those situations which unforeseeably arose now and then?

[Shulha] The fact of the matter is that the commission, in regards to the question of state sovereignty, republic and international relations, to a considerable degree reflects the situation in the Higher Council. And that is why the process of working this document out was, naturally, not very straightforward. However, we succeeded from the very start in organizing our work in such a manner that creative activity was regarded as a first priority, so that the deputies, irrespective of their political allegiances, could have the chance to put forth their propositions. This required patience, a lot of energy was lost on account of frayed nerves, but as a result the issues were worked out from all angles and at a profound level. In the last analysis, casting out extreme views, we moved forward, attaining the greatest degree of judiciousness



and responsibility. You recall, how in the process of discussion there arose such dramatic situations in which the proceedings of the session were interrupted, how they were postponed for later discussion of specific sections of the future document? That is what happened in the section concerning citizenship and the armed forces. However, after long talks, we still managed to find the needed formulations, which satisfied if not everyone, then at least the decisive majority.

I think that the commission of the Higher Council's role is continuing to grow. Though I do know that on account of squabbling, difficulty, and complexities during the sessions in the near future, there will be no similar documents. So then the declaration will determine the directions in which the Higher Council will work in the future. Therein is the historical meaning of the document for our nationhood, for the political, economic, and legal relations within the union.

[Kraslyansky] Therefore this day is to be designated as a universal holiday?

[Shulha] This is a historical day and that says everything. Finally, the act of accepting the declaration is more important, than the vocational holidays, which we observe. This is a great, solemn occasion for all the people, and the date, the 16th of July is a landmark in the future life of the Ukrainian people.

...

#### S.P. Holovaty: 'When One Equal Speaks With Another'

[Kraslyansky] Serhiy Petrovych, it is known that the acceptance of the declaration of sovereignty has gathered in the best thoughts and thinking of the people's deputies, and along with them, the entire populace of Ukraine. You did not simply "bestow" your interesting proposals to the commission; you worked as an author of one of the alternative projects of the declaration. What moved you to take on this difficult task?

[Holovaty] In the first place, the original conception did not completely satisfy me, one which was prepared by a team of workers still in May of this year. To a certain degree it was being prepared rather hastily; at that time, it could not accommodate the richness of the people's elected officials' thoughts. The situation today changes rapidly. So we resolved to work out our own, not with some sort of changes and additions there, but a project of the sort which is based on a new concept.

[Kraslyansky] We—meaning who?

[Holovaty] Ivan Tymchenko, a candidate of juridical sciences, a worker at the Institute of the State and Law, and me. So what then was the difference? The official project was based on a concept of state sovereignty for the Ukrainian SSR. We thought this over thus: to advance only the idea of national sovereignty—this, perhaps, will not to the fullest extent fulfill the tasks which stand before the Higher Council. But the Ukraine

during the entire period of its development has only made attempts to establish its own statehood; therefore, it did not have the opportunity to realize its sovereignty. The period of creation of a single nation was long and it formed in a mosaic-like manner. And today the Ukrainian SSR is not a nation in the full sense of this word.

We did not move away from the concept of a nation. We worked into our concept, the idea of sovereignty for the people of the Ukraine, which is to be realized through the state organs. We got the idea of a tripartite type of sovereignty: that of a nationality, a people, and a state. For the state is really an organization which cannot stand above the people, as a sovereign entity in itself.

[Kraslyansky] But doesn't it seem to you that the thoughts that you have just expressed—are sooner theoretical points, rather than practical ones for putting the document into practice?

[Holovaty] No, this is a scientific approach to the problems, which is based on theory. In practice, the sovereignty of the people is actually realized by means of the state organs. That is why in our variant of the declaration it is emphasized that we are proclaiming the sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation, the sovereignty of the people of the Ukraine, and a state sovereignty; the issue here is above all the supremacy, independence, and complete capability invested in the organs of state authority within the territorial boundaries of the republic. What we are really talking about is the fact that in the near future we are supposed to build a democratic society and lawful state. This is possible only when the state does not separate itself from the people.

Today we are condemning totalitarian regimes. Yet the essence of these regimes lies in the fact that the people do not have all the power, but that a certain organizational structure does have it—whether it is a party, which takes on the functions of a state, or, let's say, a military dictatorship. Therefore, one cannot deny that there is an organic tie between state authority and the people's sovereignty. Because a nation is only created by the people.

[Kraslyansky] And how do you, from the point of view of your theory and the already accepted declaration, think sovereignty will be put into practice?

[Holovaty] The practical realization will be possible when the articles of the new constitution will be strengthened. In order to put the sovereignty of the Ukraine into practice on its territory, it is necessary to create an organization of state organs, which would strengthen the superiority of the constitution and the laws of the Ukrainian SSR on its territory.

In regards to executive authority. The procedure for establishing the Council of Ministers and determining the scope of its competency is to be determined only by the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. And our government should be accountable only to the Higher Council of the Ukraine. Until now structures stood above it,

specifically the union government. The same applies to judicial and procuratorial authority. Now the people of Ukraine are not sovereign in this respect. So then today the union organs have the last word.

And one more important issue—the constitutional court. We are supposed to have an organization, which would above all insure that legislation in the sphere of human rights would be adhered to. And its decisions are supposed to be final.

This principle of the division of powers—into the legislative, executive, and procuratorial, and judicial, which are supposed to be independent of one another, and understandably, of other nations' will, is also in practice a realization of the people of the Ukraine's own sovereignty.

[Kras'yansky] What came out of your work on the final document?

[Holovaty] A lot. A preamble, which was used in its entirety in the declaration, and the idea of the supremacy of the laws on the territory of the republic; some points in regards to legislative, judicial, and procuratorial authority; and the creation of our own armed forces; and entire sections, which, by our proposals, were left out of the original document.

[Kras'yansky] To the point, concerning the armed forces. I was and still remain a complete opponent of having our own armed forces. For their presence always holds a potential threat of bloodshed.

[Holovaty] I cannot but agree that there is such a threat. However, it exists even when there is not an army present. The fact of the matter is not that force may be resorted to. On the contrary. It seems to me that with regard to the conditions under which the union is operating today, precisely the creation of one's own national or republic military units would raise the level of tension when these armed forces would be used for political aims, as evident in Tbilisi and other regions, where they were used without the permission of the Higher Councils of the union republics.

However, this is not the main matter. The main matter is that one needs to think globally. I personally have three arguments concerning the aforementioned problems: [to satisfy] mothers' demands that their children serve in Ukraine, [to allow for] the presence of the armed forces as a sign of the nation's sovereignty, and to establish our own military units, as an initial step in the shift over to a new, lawful status for the Ukraine in terms of military affairs. I have in mind our session's statement concerning the idea of proclaiming the Ukraine as politically neutral. We have suffered the most from war; we have the most atomic stations, and that is why we have the right to have a status of being beyond wars.

[Kras'yansky] How do you, Serhiy Petrovych, relate the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR to being unified to other nations in the union?

[Holovaty] Very simply. If we have accepted the Declaration of Ukrainian Sovereignty and the mechanism for its realization through the supremacy of the people's authority and the laws of the Ukraine—then this marks a new stage in relations between the Ukraine and the union nations, a new level of relations among the republics. All the relations, which will arise among the nations of the union will be regulated only by treaties. Will some kind of military problems arise? So be it. The delegation from the Ukraine along with that of other republics is conducting a search for regulating them. And that is how everything will be decided—on the principles of international law norms. This does not categorically mean that there is a rupture of the political, economic, and other ties among the nations of the union. These are simply the kind of relations that obtain when one free individual speaks with another, and one equal to another.

#### **Ukraine's Kravchuk Addresses 12 July UKSSR Supreme Soviet**

90UN2614A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
13 Jul 90 p 1

[Ukrainian News Agency report: "On Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] At the end of the evening plenary meeting of the session on 11 July, at which the paragraph by paragraph discussion of the draft Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR continued, deputy G. Ye. Maslyuk read a resolution adopted at a meeting in Donetsk on the day of the miners' strike.

Also read was a telegram addressed to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet from representatives of the labor collectives in the cells of the Popular Movement of the Ukraine of the Yuzhnodonbasskaya No 1 and Yuzhnodonbasskaya No 3 mines of the Donetskul Production Association apropos of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR.

On 12 July, before the beginning of the morning plenary meeting of the session, the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet examined urgent questions of the work of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. The paragraph by paragraph discussion of the draft Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR was continued in the morning and evening meetings of the sessions.

At the evening meeting of the session, deputy L. M. Kravchuk came forward with a declaration from the deputy group of communists and people not affiliated with the party entitled "For a Soviet Sovereign Ukraine." It stated:

Dear deputies! Citizens of the Ukraine!

Anxiety over the present day and the future of the Ukraine compels us—deputies, communists and people not affiliated with the party—to make use of the session's platform to declare the following.

A crucial moment has begun in the history of our long-suffering Ukraine. Where the republic is headed, what path it chooses today, this is what its tomorrow will be like. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is examining a document of historic importance—the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine, which will guarantee real independence to the republic, and to the people—the right to live as its political will dictates, to make full use of all the results of its own work.

But socio-political processes proceed with difficulty, in contradictory fashion, and they aggravate economic, political, and social tension. In the presence of such conditions, every thoughtless word, and even more so thoughtless actions, can call forth outbreaks of passions and civil confrontation. For this reason, now as never before, we need moderation, agreement, mutual tolerance, and trust. Today it is impossible to put into first place the group and party interests and personal ambitions. Above all else must be the well-being of the people, its tranquillity, happiness, the present and the future of the Ukraine.

The solution of the acute problems in the economy and the social sphere, and the achievement of a spiritual revival, can be attained only through the joint efforts of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and the entire people.

Our very first word to the miners—that detachment of the working class which has always distinguished itself by a high degree of consciousness and solidarity and has enjoyed indisputable authority in the people. With understanding we perceive your dissatisfaction with the course of perestroika, the lack of important advances in the improvement of the conditions of the life of the people, in particular of the miners. We ask, however, to ponder the content of your political demands, those accusations which you are making against the communists. Such a position does not lead to agreement, to the acceleration of democratic processes. For this reason, ask yourself, are your interests expressed by those who instigate you to political pressure on the party committees and organizations, and even to violence.

Only a person who has been warned cannot see the aspiration of the communist to renew the party, to undertake concrete actions for the good of the people. The fundamental interests of society are the subject of serious discussion at the 28th CPSU Congress and the 28th Ukrainian CP Congress.

We are appealing to all people's deputies for fruitful and productive work in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. Let us turn to the Soviets, the public organizations, the communists, and the members of other parties and political groupings. Together we have to change the life and secure peace and tranquillity in our common home. It is not the time to look for the guilty and to settle accounts. We already know to what this leads. History itself arranges everything in its place. It is time to search for a way out of the situation that has developed. This is

what we, the deputies, are seeking at the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. What we need is a high degree of enterprise, the mobilization of all intellectual potential, and consideration of the diversity of opinions of our wise people. Common sense suggests: You don't help the cause with strikes, meetings, and confrontation. We will overcome all difficulties if we combine our efforts.

You have all of the work of the session before your eyes. You must judge the effectiveness of its work. For this reason, now, when we have finally proceeded to really important and fundamental questions, we are counting on your trust and support. Truth does not permit a political situation dominated by considerations of momentary advantage, it is impossible to deal in it. There is only one truth.

We are calling on all deputies to join in this appeal. Let us hope that we will be heard by all for whom the interests of the people are dear.

#### **Kravchuk on Effectiveness of Communists in Supreme Soviet**

90UN2632A Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian 22 Jul 90 p 1,4

[Press conference by L. M. Kravchuk, a member of the Politburo, second secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, and a people's deputy, reported by Ye. Yampolsky: "Communists in the Parliament"]

[Text] [Yampolsky] This was the theme of the press conference given to Soviet and foreign journalists by L.M. Kravchuk, member of the Politburo, second secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, and people's deputy of the republic.

At this meeting, which took place at the press center of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a traditional, introductory statement was not made. L. Kravchuk proposed for the sake of greater efficiency and dynamism to immediately answer questions. The journalists agreed.

[Moscow Radio correspondent] How many Communists are there altogether in the higher organs of state authority of the republic, because one sees that today there is a certain divergence in statistics?

[Kravchuk] We have recently created a deputies group "For a sovereign, soviet Ukraine," to which 239 people have signed up. In all, to be more exact, there are surely, one can say, 300 Communists, who are members of the CPSU. They are not a homogenous body. A number of them, as you perhaps know, created the Democratic Platform in the parliament, and as they themselves state, they support the "People's Council."

[Yampolsky] A number of questions asked applied to the Higher Council's recently accepted Declaration of the national sovereignty of the Ukraine. Specifically, the



English press representatives became interested in when one can expect the document to be realized.

[Kravchuk] I would like to see this happen as soon as possible—L. Kravchuk said emphatically. The Declaration is really a historical document; it is all-encompassing. To the point, just recently one of the deputies introduced a proposition for renaming the square in front of the Higher Council to "The Square of the 16th of July" so that this date would remain in the people's memory.

However, every declaration, as you understand yourself is only a statement concerning intentions. This document needs a whole package of underlying legislative acts. The most fundamental of which will be a new constitution for the Ukrainian SSR, based on the declaration. One must also work out a conceptual view of the union treaty. I think, we in the Higher Council, should have our variant of this treaty, which would satisfy our republic.

Therefore, the issue is enormous in scope and demands responsible work. Only then will the declaration begin to take on life. And this is still not everything. As long as the people will not feel themselves as masters, they will not begin to work at a higher rate of productivity and quality, and the best laws alone will not create riches.

[UKRINFORM correspondent] As it should be, we see that in our parliament there are several groups. And nonetheless on such an important issue, like the acceptance of the declaration, a simply impressive sort of unity is attained. How do you explain this fact? Isn't it a confirmation of the fact that the Higher Council's composition as it is today is capable of deciding the most complicated problems?

[Kravchuk] Surely, I was not the only one who noticed that passions flare up at the sessions more often during either the discussion of comparatively trivial questions or on the occasion of struggle against authority. When the issue is really a genuinely significant matter, emotions recede in importance, and the intellect, a sense of judiciousness, gains the upper hand. This confirmed that the parliament is capable of working constructively. And a lot will depend here on the Presidium and the head of the Higher Council, who should take on the task of unifying all the forces, to take what is best from all the deputies. So then it is not for nothing that psychologists say that different people are necessary to one another. And it is good that in the session hall people are different. If only one could [say the same for] culture, ethics, judiciousness, and patience! If we would all know how to put our ambitions aside! So far this cannot be managed.

[Radio Kiev correspondent] To what extent have the Communists shown signs of being prepared to working in a multi-party parliament?

[Kravchuk] Already during the period of elections, the communist deputies felt that matters no longer stand as

they did in the past. Hence, they understood, yet, perhaps, not completely. I will frankly say: I did not imagine the parliamentary life would be in full swing. It requires the active participation of every one. Take this same declaration. Two of its articles were in fact worked out from beginning to end in the course of the proceedings of the session. This is quite an eloquent detail.

A necessity arose to work constantly in the commissions. Yet everyone is tied down by his professional engagements. How do we move on? Congresses will not get things done. Many deputies must be taught not only parliamentary procedures and ethics, but also the legal and political sciences.

Therefore, to say, that we have shown ourselves to be completely prepared would be quite an exaggeration. The same applies to our opponents.

[Yampolsky] A number of questions addressed to Comrade Kravchuk were related to V. Ivashko's resignation from his post as head of the Higher Council of the republic. The representatives from various mass media organizations were interested, specifically, in how the members of the CPSU, who are in the parliament, and the delegates in the 28th Party congress reacted to this event.

L. Kravchuk answered that in his view, if the question of resignation was decided together with the deputies, simply within the session hall, then surely, it would not be a cause for misunderstandings. In addition to the fact that the head had somehow left the parliament without support, the psychological situation should be kept in mind. It arose and was a consequence of the obstruction undertaken by the very people who had elected the head, those delegates who were allied to the Democratic Bloc. Nonetheless, considering the extent of his possibility [to take action], V. Ivashko, could have consolidated the deputies, but he did not have enough time.

And the last matter. The gist of the matter is not that the Communists did not support Ivashko. I will say this as I understand it—continued comrade Kravchuk. Kravchuk and the majority of the Communists, in passing such a fateful document, were disconcerted that they were doing this without the participation of the head. They voted that Ivashko should return not because they had an unfriendly attitude towards him (after all, they chose him to be the first secretary of the Central Committee, the head of the Higher Council), but because they wanted support. And that is all they wanted! In doing this, our comrade Communists should have taken into account that he was not at a resort, but fulfilling an important Party assignment.

In characterizing, at the request of journalists, the political situation of the Ukraine today, the second secretary CP Central Committee of the republic defined it as complex and unclear. In such conditions, the Communists, who are learning to work in new ways, are that

force, which is capable of consolidating all the forces of rebuilding in order to overcome the crises, to renew the Ukraine.

The journalists were interested also in the next changes to be made in the structure of the republic press and the interrelations between the professional unions and the Ukrainian Communist Party; they also asked a number of other questions. L. Kravchuk gave extended answers to them.

#### **New UkSSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Kravchuk Elected**

##### **Speech Stresses Need for Cooperation**

90UN2647A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
25 Jul 90 p 1

[Report by unnamed Ukrainian News Agency special correspondent on speech by L. M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet: "At the Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] As has already been reported, on 23 July 1990, after his election as chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, L. M. Kravchuk gave a short speech. He said:

Dear comrade deputies! First of all, I would like to express words of gratitude to the Supreme Soviet which has elected me to this extremely high post in the Ukraine. I understand the entire responsibility which is entrusted to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. I understand the place and role of this highest official in the republic in the solution of the questions that must be decided today. But I also understand that, without the deputies, without your support, neither the chairman nor the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet will do anything themselves. I also understand that in this hall there are people with different political positions, but I am convinced that, when important affairs of state will be at issue, when—without exaggerating—decisive questions will be decided, we will find a common language, in the same way as we found it before the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine. I am hoping for this, I am relying on your support.

It is a difficult time at present for us, for the people of the Ukraine, and for our entire country. And the dialectic of this time consists in the fact that, the big problems of perestroika that raise the deepest layers of our life are paralleled by acute current problems that are unresolved. If we here, in this hall, and beyond the confines of our hall, do not understand this dialectic, do not quickly and effectively solve precisely the questions that worry us today, no profound and long-term processes will go as quickly as we would want. This dialectic of interdependence consists precisely in the parallel solution of the questions of the prospects of our life, the life of the Ukraine, and the questions that are related to our daily needs. And this, I believe, is the most important today, the most serious problem for the Supreme Soviet, as well

as for our government, for all of our people—communists and people without party affiliation.

I cannot but state that the consciousness of people deformed by the past, the consciousness of our people irritated by the problems and mistakes of the present—perceives very painfully and acutely everything that happens both in this hall and beyond its confines. I understand that we must do everything in order not to stimulate confrontation in the future, not to put pressure on the, as it is, deformed consciousness of our people. If we want what is good, if we want agreement, if we want the prospect on which we are counting on the basis of the Declaration, then we must understand this and weigh every step and every word taking these problems into account.

I cannot but state that I understand the political transformations that are taking place at present in our life through the prism of the general democratic process. I want to say that we, precisely in this hall, must solve the questions both about the Decree on Power and on the conception of a Union Agreement. I have no desire to support and will never support, with regard to such important questions and such serious problems, decisions taken by ear, for us not to ponder—to vote or not to vote, without having in front of us the studied document. I want to say that precisely here, in this hall, on the basis of the great principles of democratism, Soviet power, and the socialist choice, we must take further all the steps. If anyone aspires to search for another path, he will lead people into a blind alley.

I want to say that for various reasons, including as a consequence of the not always fruitful months of discussions, dialogue, and even annoying misunderstandings that have taken place in this hall, we were unable to do what we had planned. But [I] must in the end tell our people that this confrontation has ended and a time of constructive work has begun—a time of calm and weighed dialogue, because we, here in this hall, need one another. We need one another if only because we are different. But if we also add to this culture, parliamentary and political culture, if we add to this also a high degree of responsibility to the people, which entrusted state work to us, then we will find a solution or a path for the solution of all questions.

I want to declare with all my strength that I see my main work here, with you in the Supreme Soviet. I want to say that no shadow can fall on a person if there are no real reasons for this. We must live in peace and in good. We must solve problems step by step. On this note, I want to conclude my speech and to express my gratitude, and to wish fruitful and creative work for all.

At the morning plenary session of the the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on 24 July, it was decided to continue the examination of the structure of the state administration of the Ukrainian SSR and the nominations to posts of the leading officials of the Council of Ministers, a number of ministries and departments of the republic, in

the permanent commissions. The nominations of another nine administrators were introduced for examination of the sessions: V.D. Gladush and V.G. Urchukin—for the posts of deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, A.V. Vasilishin—minister of internal affairs, P.P. Volkov—minister of transport, A.M. Lukyanenko—minister of labor and social problems, A.K. Minchenko—chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Material-Technical Supply, G. G. Nikitenko—minister of light industry, N.F. Okhmakevich—chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and V.M. Khorev—minister of water resources construction.

With this, the plenary session came to a close. The deputies continued their work in the permanent commissions.

### Press Conference Discusses New Union Agreement

90UN2647B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
26 Jul 90 pp 1,3

[Report by unnamed Ukrainian News Agency special correspondent: "Press Conference of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Chairman"]

[Text] On 24 July a press conference of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, L.M. Kravchuk, took place. Journalists of the central, republic, and local publications, and accredited foreign correspondents took part in it.

In opening the press conference, L.M. Kravchuk said: In spite of various assessments, which we have not yet finished studying, that are now current in the republic, including in the Supreme Soviet, I am nevertheless convinced that its deputy corps has serious spiritual, organizational and other potential, which we cannot utilize since people are different and political views are different. But when we begin with the discussion of important questions and problems that concern the fate of the Ukraine and its people, then every deputy finds the strength in himself to overcome his emotions, his personal, party, or any corporative goals, to rise above this, and to see that behind all this stands the 52-million strong Ukrainian people and state. This was clearly evident at the time of the discussion of the Declaration and its adoption.

I think that we, the deputies, all together are now selecting precisely the kinds of problems that worry the entire people. Above all, this is the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Already in this session, I believe, we must proceed to the Constitution, to its preparation. More correctly, to the creation of a commission to develop the Basic Law and submit it for discussion by the people.

There are two other questions that are now calling forth the greatest unease in the Supreme Soviet—these are the

Decree on Power and our attitude to the Union Agreement. You know, what opinions are seething around this. With respect to the Decree on Power, I believe: It should be introduced in the agenda of the session, although, perhaps, we cannot adopt it or will not succeed in adopting it. This will depend on what draft bills will be handed to the deputies. But this is the Decree which should authenticate power. I only want to underscore that any documents of state significance will then be interpreted by all the deputies, or the majority of deputies, when such aspects will be assumed as their basis as the Ukraine—a democratic state; the Ukraine—a Soviet state; the Ukraine—a socialist state. And when this will be the case, no doubts will arise among us with respect to formulations and approaches. They may be different—more precise definitions, directions, and nuances, but they should be assumed as the basis of our legislative work around these documents.

As far as the Union Agreement is concerned, some deputies think that it should not be adopted, that this again is a kind of yoke for the people of the Ukraine. It is astonishing that, not having this document in front of themselves, people draw such far-reaching conclusions. I am convinced that such a document is required in order for us to live in a union of socialist states. Whether this will be a federation or confederation. But perhaps this will be something else, some kind of political formation not yet known to civilization. We should take a step forward in this direction, taking into account the experience not only of our own, but also of world development.

But this is not the only point. The main thing is where does the work on this document begin. If we begin this work among ourselves in the parliament, if we define the approaches, the principles, and our vision of the Union Agreement, if we form a delegation, which will be sent, let us say, to Moscow, with definite powers, with not only organizational, but also fundamental approaches, that is one thing. And when we set forth these approaches, we and all the republics, especially such large ones as the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, and then also others, we will at least secure the approach that is necessary for the satisfaction of the needs of national self-consciousness and the requirements of our sovereignty. I am convinced that at present even a brilliant document, if we imagine that such a document would be sent to us, sent down from above, if you will excuse that expression, would not be accepted. For this reason, the point is not the agreement, but the approach to the agreement. For every man who understands the situation knows that no republic is able today to guarantee, let us say, strategic defense, the opening up of space, and the solution of many problems, for which the potential and the strength of our entire Soviet Union must be utilized.

This is why we will carry out a policy whose aim it is to examine this question in the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, for precisely the deputies to find their position, and for the delegation, which will carry out



their will, to have both powers and a point of view. And this is a normal phenomenon. My position is that to live today without an agreement, to live outside the Soviet Union—means to lose a great deal for ourselves and for our prospects, if not to say more, and to put into a still more difficult situation all the people who live in the Ukraine.

This I say about all the important questions which must give life to the Declaration. But we also have other problems. Everyday problems, which today acutely worry people. Here, let us say, at the present time there is a strike of the electro-transport drivers. Moreover, a strike whose demands go far beyond the lawful demands which are set forth by the preparation for the strike, by the notice about it, and by the creation of the strike committee. In many countries of the world, by the way, transport workers are not permitted to strike in view of the importance of this sector. But that is how it is in our republic. And already the residents of Kiev have been put in a difficult situation. A situation, moreover, which can quickly become highly explosive. Here it is necessary to take measures.

The problems of the village. I will say that in the current year, if we succeed in bringing in the harvest, it will be a good one, perhaps higher for the country as a whole by comparison with the past year. But there is a shortage of fuel, a shortage of lubricants, and the harvest may perish in the fields. I am not even talking about empty shelves, about everything that exasperates and touches a sore spot with everyone. And, it goes without saying, the Supreme Soviet cannot bypass these problems in solving important legislative tasks and creating new legislative acts and laws. However, here, it seems to me, the mechanism of the relations of the government and the Supreme Soviet and the mechanism of control and demands has not been perfected, and implementation discipline is low. This mechanism must be perfected, and the people must feel at last that the new government, the new Supreme Soviet, and the new organs of political and state power have begun to work for the cause. Thus, I envisage the work of our Supreme Soviet on the plane of the creation of laws, legislative acts, mechanisms for their implementation, mechanisms of influence on the executive organs and a reverse mechanism for the receipt of information from people, the voters, to which we need to react effectively and quickly.

The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet answered the questions of journalists.

### Formation of New Government Discussed

90UN2667A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
27 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by UKRINFORM correspondent: "Government Formed"]

[Text] At the beginning of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet's 25 July morning session, at the proposal of Deputy L. I. Taburyanskiy, the session observed a

minute of silence in honor of the memory of the well-known Soviet poet, actor and singer V. S. Vysotskiy, whose heart ceased beating 10 years ago.

Then the deputies continued discussion of candidates for the offices of deputy chairmen of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and heads of the ministries and departments. The session appointed A.S. Statinov first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and K.I. Masik, S.V. Komisarenko, V.G. Urchukin and V.D. Gladush as deputy chairmen, and passed decrees to this effect.

Deputies Ye.A. Gryniv, S.V. Ostroushchenko, L.G. Yakovishin, L.G. Grebenchenko, V.M. Chernovol, M.Ye. Chuchuk and A.V. Yershov, who spoke at the end of the morning session, touched on a number of issues. These included the issue of giving the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine the force of a constitutional law. They also discussed the unsatisfactory provision of essential goods to Ukraine's western oblasts; the situation that has come about with regard to the Odessa Harbor Plant; the demands of constituents in the city of Gorlovka, Donetsk Oblast, regarding the immediate return to the republic from other regions of military personnel who are inhabitants of Ukraine; the increasing of the wages of persons working where the pollution of the territory with radionuclides constitutes 1.5 curies per square kilometer; and other matters.

On behalf of a delegation of the deputies of rayon, city and oblast soviets in Transcarpathian Oblast who had come to Kiev, Deputy L.P. Skorik addressed the session with a demand that the issue of the closing of the Pestryalovskaya Radar Station be resolved.

In offering an explanation on this matter, Deputy M.Yu. Voloshchuk, chairman of the Transcarpathian Oblast Soviet, reported that construction of the radar station had been halted, military units withdrawn from the area, the facility placed under guard by internal affairs agencies, and practically all building materials hauled away, and that the equipment was being sold to other organizations. At present this issue is being considered by the President of the USSR and the country's government. There are no grounds for worry.

Discussion of candidates for the offices of heads of a number of ministries and departments continued at the evening plenary session.

At the 25 July evening plenary session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, discussion of candidates for the offices of heads of a number of ministries and departments was continued. The session appointed V.Yu. Pekhota manager of affairs of the republic Council of Ministers, O.I. Slepichev minister of trade, and Yu.P. Spizhenko minister of health.

Then the deputies moved to the consideration of various matters. L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, read a statement that had been received over the "hot line." It dealt with the fact that

Kiev residents are extremely concerned over the press report about the accident at the Ivot Glass Plant in Bryansk Oblast, as a result of which a great deal of liquid resin with a high content of chemical substances has entered a tributary of the Desna. Won't this poison flow into the Desna, and from there into Kiev's water-supply system? L.M. Kravchuk reported that, according to information provided by K.I. Masik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature is monitoring the situation, and steps are being taken to render the toxic spill harmless. There is no threat to Kiev residents.

On behalf of 28 people's deputies belonging to the Democratic Platform in the Ukrainian Communist Party group, Deputy V.P. Filenko reported their withdrawal from the CPSU.

Deputy V.Ye. Eysmont raised the question of the provision of foodstuffs to the population of Belaya Tserkov in Kiev Oblast, and of the reequipping of the processing industry.

Deputy I.I. Makedonskiy spoke with alarm of the gradual dying of one of Ukraine's largest lakes, Yalpus, which is located in Odessa Oblast and is the principal water source of a large region. He called for immediate steps to save the lake.

V.R. Marchenko's remarks dealt with the impermissibility of using building materials with elevated radiation levels, which has occurred in several regions of Sumy and Rovno oblasts. He also raised the question of the need to place the gathering of medicinal plants under the supervision of the Nature Conservation Society, endowing that public organization with appropriate authority.

In his remarks Deputy V.S. Romanyuk raised a number of problems pertaining to the Carpathian region. He reported, in particular, that his constituents were protesting the promulgation of the Law on the Languages of the USSR's Peoples and asking that it not be put into effect. The deputy asked that the ecological situation in the Carpathian region be examined, and he read a telegram from the Stryyskiy Consolidated Soviet concerning the discovery of the burial sites of people destroyed in the 1940s in the Stry Prison.

In connection with a proposal by Deputy L.T. Gorokhivskiy that an ad hoc deputies' commission be established to investigate events in the villages of Ushakovtsa and Rudka, Ternopol Oblast, L. M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, reported that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had ordered two commissions—the Commission on Law and Order and Fighting Crime, and the Commission on Human Rights—to set up a deputies' group.

Deputy N.Ye. Melnik submitted inquiries concerning the work of the Krivoy Rog Mining and Enriching Combine on processing oxidized ores in Kirovograd

Oblast, and also about the construction of a new Dnestr Reservoir on the border of Chernovtsy and Vinnitsa oblasts. Deputy M.Yu. Voloshchuk spoke about the need to promptly regularize the structure of rural, settlement, rayon and city soviets. Deputy A.A. Moroz submitted a proposal concerning the consolidation and ethics of deputies' conduct. Deputy N.A. Didyk read a letter from the employees of banks and the bank council in Vinnitsa Oblast concerning the violation of the republic's economic sovereignty. Deputy O.G. Panasovskiy shared his thoughts about ensuring the productive work of standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. S.G. Pushik spoke about the need to measure radiation levels in the Carpathian region and to establish a commission to investigate the causes of illness among children in Chernovtsy.

The 26 July morning plenary session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet began with a discussion of the draft decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on a statement concerning the use of the personnel of the republic's internal affairs agencies in other regions of the country; the draft was read by Ya.Yu. Kondratyev, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission on Law and Order and Fighting Crime. In connection with the fact that many criticisms and proposals had been received concerning the draft decree, it was decided to consider it later.

Then the deputies moved to a discussion of candidates for the offices of heads of the republic's ministries and departments. The session appointed A.K. Minchenko chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, V.F. Sklyarov republic minister of power and electrification, N.M. Golushko chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee, and N.I. Borisenko chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Statistics Committee, and passed decrees to this effect.

The session rejected the candidacy of I.A. Zabrodin for Ukrainian SSR minister of finance.

A delegation from the parliament of the Land of Bavaria (FRG) attended the session. Franz [Heubel], president of the Landtag, addressed the deputies. Permit me to thank you sincerely, he said, for granting us the opportunity to visit the new Ukrainian parliament. As we have seen, the debates here are extremely heated and filled with emotion. No matter what positions deputies take, they find a common language and a joint solution of problems.

We learned earlier from programs on German television, the speaker continued, that your parliament had adopted a Declaration on the State Sovereignty of Ukraine. That is the reality that links your present day with the future.

The history of your country and your people is very rich and has a splendid future. It is rich, in part, with monuments, with which we acquainted ourselves with yesterday in visiting your city. Of course, there have

been sad pages in your and our history. And at this moment I cannot help recalling what still grieves our hearts today.

We were familiarized with the problems that face your people and your republic, and with the sort of assistance that Ukraine needs. I want to recall the words of Gen de Gaulle, who said that at some time in the future Europe would extend to the Urals. That means that you and we together are building that European home. I want to express to you our feelings of sympathy and support for your people, and our wishes for all the best in the future. I wish all of you peace and friendship. I see the chances of Europe's younger generation, and hence the younger generation of Ukraine and Germany, for a happy future.

Franz [Heubel] presented the Supreme Soviet with a 16th-century engraving depicting the parliament of Germany of that time.

L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, sincerely thanked the president of the Land of Bavaria for his kind words addressed to the parliament and the people of Ukraine, and wished him and his delegation fruitful work and interesting meetings.

At the end of the morning session, Deputy A.A. Prichkin presented a statement by the deputies from Zaporozhye Oblast concerning the mass activities to be held this August on the Island of Khortitsa in connection with the 500th anniversary of the Zaporozhye Cossacks. The deputy also read a telegram from the Presidium of the Zaporozhye Oblast Soviet on this matter.

L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, reported that the question of celebrating the 500th anniversary of the Zaporozhye Cossacks had been considered in the republic Council of Ministers and the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and received support. The only concern is that it be done in an organized fashion.

At the evening session the discussion of candidates for offices of heads of the republic's ministries and departments was continued.

#### Rayon Committees Adjust to New Conditions

90UN2594A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
13 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by special correspondent A. Srebryanets: "Raykom Parties and Soviets. Have All the Questions Been Answered?"]

[Text] —When will the party organs finally hand over their power to the soviets?

—When crabs whistle...

(From a conversation at a newspaper stand)

In order to find some kind of answer to this complicated question, I went to Krolevets. It is a small city, no

different from any other small city. Green, fairly well kept up. Store shelves are more poorly stocked than the ones in Kiev and even in Konotop. The bazaar is open three days a week. The biggest one is open on Sundays, but it failed to evoke any special optimism: roasted potatoes, as they say here, cottage cheese, milk, meat. You have to be quick if you want to buy any of this; by eleven o'clock you may as well not even go.

"Life is still possible here, as far as meat goes," say the Krolevetsers. Yes, and statistics offer confirmation of this. Last year, for example, the rayon's collective and state farms alone sold 3.1 kilograms of meat at the bazaar for each of the city's inhabitants. Is this a lot or a little? It isn't bad, when in Shostka the figure is one kilogram per capita, in Putivl—0.9, and in Glukhov—0.5. All these cities are located in the same area.

"What next?" is the question on everybody's lips. If, as they say, bread gets more expensive, then bazaar prices for meat and other produce will jump, as well. Even now, Farmer Ivan is in no hurry to bring his meat to market, because he knows that time is on his side, and that he'll get more for it in Autumn.

The party raykom and the rayispolkom are talking about exactly the same things. They are making prognoses and drawing comparisons. The situation is normal for now, with one exception... Say thirty or forty people get together at the rayon armed forces recruitment office. They hold a meeting. About what? Always about the same thing—who's going to Chernobyl, with what kind of privileges and what kind of medical treatment? Unanimously, they demand openness, the truth, frankness. And they are right in demanding this. Or else, a bunch of people go to the raykom. And again they make their demands. This time that the deficits be taken care of; again, trade saves the best for itself. It's good that at least a few come and make themselves comfortable in the office of the party raykom first secretary and the newly elected rayon Soviet of People's Deputies chairman, I. M. Grishchenko. They open their souls to each other for a while, argue a little, yell a little. Then they part on a good note.

"People come to the raykom," Organizational Party Work Department head, I. I. Novakhatko, says, as if thinking aloud. "For many people, the raykom is still the place of last appeal, where it is still possible to find a solution, where you will at least be heard out and not interrupted. And we value this. On every corner you hear that the party is losing its authority, that people are losing faith in the Communists. But at the same time we have the following data: of the rural soviet chairmen elected in the rayon, three were kolkhoz chairmen, one was a lumber foreman, and the rest were kolkhoz party committee chairmen.

Obviously, it does not pay to delude oneself. Nevertheless, the fact remains that people still believe in the party



that began restructuring; they believe in it as a consolidating force, and place many of their hopes on the Communists.

And I feel that the opinions I hear voiced are correct. The raykom secretary is elected rural soviet chairman, and the kolkhoz party organizer is elected rural soviet chairman... It's hard to sit in two seats at once, especially in the government. But this kind of situation is temporary. It's just that right now, some sort of transition period is necessary until the new soviets are formed and consolidated.

It is common knowledge that the party committees "held" the helm of the administration in their hands for decades. For decades, they made decisions, pressured, commanded, "nagged", acted as a super-departmental regulator of relations between the collectives of various branches, and adjusted things to fit their own interests. Such experience! Evidently, the deputies who voted for the raykom first secretary and the kolkhoz party committee secretary understood this, too. It must be, in any case, that what you've become accustomed to is more reliable. But life will tell.

At the February plenum of the party raykom, there was already talk of separating the functions of party and soviet organs. And so, the party committee secretary of the Shchors Kolkhoz, M. M. Shklyar, stated directly that today, when power in its entirety is being transferred to the Soviets, it is necessary to separate the functions distinctly, and to determine what the party committee should occupy itself with, and what the soviet committees should occupy themselves with. The editor of the rayon newspaper, M. P. Nazarenko, and other orators supported this.

Is the party raykom discovering its functions during this period? It's working on it. For example, a rayon council for the study of public opinion has been created. Its goal is to organize and execute effective and qualitative sociological protection of the party organizations' political, organizational and ideological activities.

—And what else can you tell us about?

Here Organizational Chief Novokhatko did not shine with particular originality.

—We are already conducting seminars for secretaries of primary party organizations in local groups, instead of at the raykom. The raykom's telephones are no longer white hot, the way they used to be. Instructors, department heads and secretaries are at the primary organizations. The questions being asked today are complicated, so we have to be well prepared for these trips, and we have to be capable of speaking at gatherings and meetings. And we have to study and analyze everything: both written and oral petitions from workers, as well as their questions on polit-days and during meetings in workers' collectives. We have to analyze the reasons for complaints, and cases of bureaucratism and false information. We must turn

decisively towards the person, developing a feeling of respect for him, for his needs and opinions. What a lot of work this is, if one tries to do it with the party's hands freed from administrative fetters.

"The old ways are tenacious, and it isn't that easy to define functions: this job is for the party, and this one is executive," M. P. Stozhok, rayispolkom chairman, shared with me. "We have already stopped conducting joint meetings on procurement, harvest, transport, preparation and so on. We also no longer make joint decrees. The raykom makes its own, and the rayispolkom—its own. Recently there was an interesting session with the following agenda: "Social Reorganization for the City and the Village". Long before the session, the rayon newspaper MAYAK KOMUNIZMU carried the rayispolkom's presentation, which evoked a certain number of suggestions and recommendations. There was criticism, as well. All of this was summed up, and has been introduced into decisions and plans, and much of it is already being acted upon.

Looking at the rayon newspaper, one can see how the work of the soviets has come alive, and how their authority is increasing: in every issue you find rubrics like "Official Department" and "Soviets—the Power of the People". Under these rubrics—and this is what's important—you don't find lightweight publications; instead, they are topical, acutely necessary.

Let us take even an issue like the environment, and then a very small aspect of that, like the preservation of the long-suffering river called the Ret, which flows into the Desna, whose waters in turn feed into the Dniepr. Negotiations have been going on about it for nearly forty years, while the river, poor thing, gets shallower and shallower, and has already turned into a stream in some places. And here, it seems to me, we have turned away from words and begun to act. And it is the soviets that are taking this matter into their hands. They are taking it seriously, involving land reclamation experts, doctors, and other interested specialists. And they make visits to the area. And they make actual recommendations to actual organizations. If they deal with this difficult matter—what authority they will win for themselves, and what happiness they will bring to people!..

This entire paragraph does not belong to me. Its author is Dr. V. P. Boyarenko, one of many kind defenders of the river and the general environment in the Krolevets area.

It is heartening to hear this sort of opinion about the increasing role of the soviets. So, having spent time in Krolevets, I would disregard the pessimistic pronouncement made by the reader at the newspaper stand. Unfortunately, though, one continues to meet up with relapses into the old way.

In its May 6 issue, under the "In the Ukrainian CP Raykom" rubric, MAYAK KOMUNIZMU published a decree on the Lenin Kolkhoz party organization's work on increasing Communists' responsibility for making

personal contributions to the process of restructuring. The decree was necessary; in it the emphasis is placed specifically on the missions the Communists have been given.

And all of a sudden this paragraph comes up: "The ispolkom of the Rural Soviet of People's Deputies is to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the functions of the deputies to the Rural Soviet. It is to increase their role in establishing control over the timely and complete performance of the deputies' duties."

Can it be true that it has not yet occurred to the raykom that today the CPSU should not and cannot give state and executive organizations directions, that instead it functions through the Communists who work in the soviets, who work as factory directors, kolkhoz chairmen, engineers, metal workers, machine operators? So for now, I do not end my correspondence on an optimistic note. Everyone—both the raykom and the Soviet—carries his own burden. This demand is still real.

Krolevets, Sumy Oblast

#### **Supreme Soviet Appeal for Calm Around Ukrainian AES**

90UN2594B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
19 Jul 90 p 1

["Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Appeal to Citizens Living in the Zones Around Nuclear Power Plants"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet fully shares the anxiety caused by the complicated situation that has developed around the nuclear power plant and by the problems that have arisen in connection with it.

The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet considers finding a solution to the problems connected with nuclear energy in the Ukraine to be its first priority. As you know, the issue of a moratorium on the construction of new nuclear power plants and reactors on the territory of the Ukraine has been included in the agenda for the current session.

However, today, in a series of regions where AES are located, an extremely strained situation is developing. Specifically, at the Khmel'nitskiy AES, where there has been a second wave of picketing, meetings, and collections of signatures against the plant's construction. All of this is having a negative influence on the moral and psychological state of the workers, and on the performance of their professional duties. It is creating a threat to the operation of nuclear energy facilities.

In connection with this, the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet appeals to everyone living in the areas around nuclear plants and other citizens to display good sense and restraint, and not to commit acts that could lead to unforeseeable consequences.

The Supreme Soviet has instructed the Council of Ministers together with the USSR Ministry of Nuclear

Energy to cease construction work on the third and fourth reactors, and not to load the fuel for the second reactor at the Khmel'nitskiy AES.

The Ukrainian SSR government has been instructed to prepare a set of measures within a month that will solve the social problems of the construction workers.

The Commission on the Issues of the Chernobyl Catastrophe, the Commission on Issues of Ecology and the Rational Utilization of the Environment, and the Commission on Issues of the Development of Base Branches of the Economy are instructed to create an independent commission for conducting expert tests at the Khmel'nitskiy AES.

#### **Elimination of Enterprise Party Committees Opposed**

90UN2630A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
24 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with V.V. Filatov, chairman of the coordinating group of the Council of Secretaries of Donetsk Party Committees, conducted by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent G. Gnezdilov: "Clarity Is Needed"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The meeting of the Council of Secretaries of Donetsk Mine Party Committee discussed the question of the political situation in party organizations of the city's coal enterprises and adopted an appeal addressed to S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee.

The appeal states: "The political situation at Donetsk coal enterprises continues to grow more complicated. Attacks against the party and communists are becoming increasingly frequent, and sometimes one hears calls for physical reprisals against party members.

"In the past few days the Donetsk workers' (strike) committee presented a demand for the elimination of party committees at mines and the depoliticization of enterprises. Our delegates at the 28th CPSU Congress informed the country's and CPSU's leadership of the illegal and discriminatory nature of the strike committees' demands. However, our concern has failed to receive any attention.

"In connection with the proclamation of the Ukraine's sovereignty, we insist on the Ukrainian CP Central Committee's submission to the Ukraine Supreme Soviet of the question of the legality of the strike committee's demands for the elimination of party committees at mines, as well as the question of the legal assessment of calls for physical reprisals against communists. If we intend to build a rule-of-law state in the Ukraine, by allowing the routing of mine party organizations we will create a precedent whereby in the future, at someone's will, public organizations, parties, societies and individual citizens acting on a constitutional basis will be abused, persecuted and subjected to discrimination.

**"On behalf of the secretaries of the Donetsk mine party committees, V.V. Filatov, chairman of the coordinating group of the Council of Secretaries."**

**Our Donetsk correspondent asked V.V. Filatov to comment on the document that was adopted and to answer a number of questions.**

[Correspondent] Valentin Vasilyevich, tell us in more detail, what prompted adoption of the appeal of Donetsk mine party organizations to the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party?

[Filatov] After the 11 July events, the city strike committee sent a telegram to the miners' collectives' strike committees demanding the beginning of implementation of the resolution passed by the rally concerning the elimination of the party from enterprises and the removal of party committees from administration buildings. The workers' reaction to that directive was mixed. At the Mine imeni Zasadko the miners are inclined to the view that the question of the party committee's presence in the administration building should be decided by the communists themselves. In the October Mine Administration the party members did not wait to hear what the collective would say and, to avoid exacerbating the situation, decided to rent a room for the party committee in a building next to the administration building.

However, at most of the Donetsk coal enterprises, relations of dangerous confrontation have arisen between the party committees and the strike committees, and these relations are being artificially whipped up from outside. The workers' dissatisfaction with the slow pace of perestroika and the failure to implement the government Decree No. 608 is being directed by someone's hand against the communists with the clear intention of presenting them in the image of the enemy. It is the same hand that wrote the frenzied anticommunist resolution of the recent rally, which is remarkably similar to the documents adopted in a number of other cities of the country, where events were planned as an open orgy against the party. It is believed that the strike committee's extensive apparatus and the commissions on Decree No. 608, which have been receiving underground pay for more than a year now, consist entirely of leaders of the workers' movement. But they are acting as functionaries of a quite definite political organization that is looking out exclusively for its own interests.

At the deep horizon of the Mine imeni Chelyuskintsev, someone wrote the inscription: "Kill communists!" The strike committee members deny authorship, freeing themselves of responsibility for inspiring recruitment agitation with the taste of blood. They claim that it was the work of provocateurs, who are striving to cast a shadow on the workers' movement's leaders. But I would not nurture any illusions about the ringleaders of the anticommunist actions who are dressing themselves in the sheep's clothes of humanists and consistent supporters of democracy.

The wave that has been raised against the party committees at enterprises is only one episode of a planned crusade against communists. It began when an attempt was made to break up obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. It did not succeed. Then it was decided to shake the party's foundation—to attack the primary party organizations. It is not out of the question that the next blow will be directed against communist leaders, and then matters will also get to the rank-and-file. They will if the human rights proclaimed in the Declaration of the Sovereignty of the Ukraine are not defended and observed according to the Constitution.

[Correspondent] The 28th CPSU Congress came out quite definitely for the preservation of party committees at enterprises. What news on this account do you expect to hear from S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee? What sort of help are you counting on, and what sort of support do you need?

[Filatov] There is still no Law on Public Organizations. Therefore, we want for the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, in the person of its first secretary, to state unambiguously what position the activists of the mine primary party organizations are to take in the existing situation, and how they are to act in a practical sense in the struggle for preserving the party committees. If they are to stand firm until the end in defending the constitutional right to political activity at enterprises, how is the mechanism of legal protection for CPSU members to be used? The law-enforcement agencies pretend that nothing is happening, even when some regular attenders of rallies insult the country's leadership and president and slander honest people, threatening them with physical reprisals. Die, but don't give in—is that what they are to do? V.I. Dunaytsev, secretary of the party committee of the Glubokaya Mine of the Mine Administration imeni the Newspaper Sotsialisticheskiy Donbass, actually declared in the council: "Let them shoot—I won't leave the mine!"

But maybe the party should not cling to office desks in the mine administration buildings? Maybe it should choose a different tactic that is in keeping with the present moment, in order to avoid social confrontation? In general, there are matters to consult with the Central Committee about.

[Correspondent] What is your personal opinion about that? Should the tactics of communists' fight for preserving their party change under the conditions of the increasingly sharp political confrontation?

[Filatov] Political blackmail, reckless slander and false charges directed against communists have done their job. At many mines public opinion is not developing in favor of the party committees at present. I think that in such a situation it would be shortsighted to insist on maintaining the forms of our work among communists without change. A compromise might be a decision for the released party employees to transfer to workers' jobs. Some collectives would be perfectly satisfied to have the



party committee move to a building that did not belong to the mine. But even in the event that the CPSU's political opponents at some enterprise make any sort of work with communists impossible, we should not lose heart. Sooner or later we must master forms of work at people's places of residence. Yet the withdrawal from enterprise grounds should not look like the expulsion of party committees from mines. There should be some sort of transitional period and a program, worked out with the help of the obkom, gorkom and raykom, for how, when and with what party workers can visit communists at their places of residence. In that connection, it should be kept in mind that many miners live closely together in miners' settlements, and it is no problem to get them together, for example, in a party club. If, of course, they find it interesting to go there.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, should communists do in order to restore the people's trust in the party?

[Filatov] The party should become useful to people. At the congresses in Kiev and Moscow there was talk to the effect that the party's money should be used to build schools and hospitals, palaces of culture and swimming pools. Therefore, party committees should study enterprising economic activity, the results of which should actually improve the people's life. What sort of approaches there are and what sort of experience has been gained in this connection should be told to communists by the Central Committee. In short, the communist miners of Donetsk are counting on a sincere, open discussion with S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and await it impatiently.

### **Past, Present Role of Estonian KGB Described**

90UN2642A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 3 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by T. Sildam, reprinted from Põvaleht, 2 Aug 90:  
"The KGB Does Not Decide How Estonia Will Acquire  
Independence,' Declares Rein Sillar"]

[Text] Retired KGB general Oleg Kalugin has compared the USSR Committee for State Security to a hunting rifle which it is very dangerous to keep around. Gustav Naan does not exclude the possibility that KGB agents may be among the members of the PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party] and the Committee of Estonian Citizens...

These opinions are only two examples of the extent to which the KGB is considered here to be a dangerous organization, despite the ever more frequent critical publications in the press from both outsiders and former staff officers of the KGB.

On March 17 of this year, Colonel Rein Sillar was appointed chairman of the Estonian KGB. He avoids evaluations in his interview with journalists. In his opinion, evaluations are the business of politicians, whereas the KGB's job is to collect, transmit and carry out information. R. Sillar does not want to return to the 1980's, when the KGB, standing on class positions, gave evaluations of the processes under way in society.

### **The Estonian Republic's Special Services Also Had Agents**

The KGB uses information from public sources (the press, etc.) and, of course, has an extensive agent network. R. Sillar did not wish to comment on this fact, but noted that the Cheka, headed by Felix Dzerzhinsky, used the services of even the former Tsarist Okhrana, and the special services of the Estonian Republic also did not forego using paid secret informants. R. Sillar's safe contains instructions on organizing agents' work compiled during the Estonian Republic, which lay out the basic regions, where and how to use secret agents. The document was done professionally.

R. Sillar did not want to specify how information is collected today; we can only cite his recent interview: "The head of such an agency must be a well-informed person. Otherwise, why is he needed? Therefore, the greater part of my workday is spent receiving and transmitting various information."

### **Why Did Kalugin Speak Out?**

According to this paper's information, every day coded messages go from Tallinn to Moscow from the local military intelligence and KGB. Both these agencies are considered the best informed; it is from them that the material is taken which ultimately ends up on President Gorbachev's desk.

R. Sillar confirmed that the KGB presents information to the Government of the Republic and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. In addition, he tries to balance certain ideas of the center. For example, R. Sillar during a planned meeting recommended that under no circumstances should a parade be held of landing troops supposedly there by chance. But R. Sillar noted here sadly that no one informed him in advance of the presence of troops.

With slight irony he stated that "Retired general Oleg Kalugin, in exposing the KGB, did not reveal anything new to it." D. Barron's book "The KGB Today" talks about the same things. Can these words of R. Sillar be considered a confirmation of Oleg Kalugin's information? To this question, R. Sillar answered, "As a professional, I am more interested in why Kalugin acted as he did, and not otherwise."

### **Lagle Parek Merits Respect**

The chairman of the Estonian KGB spoke of the reorganization of his agency. Does this mean the separation of intelligence and counter-intelligence (as in the USA)? During all the preceding decades when Estonia was in fact a member of the USSR, it was counter-intelligence which created the most difficulties for dissidents, essentially turning into a political investigation.

During 1970-1989, about 20 persons were convicted of anti-Soviet agitation in Estonia (they have all been rehabilitated). KGB investigators during this period conducted 190 criminal cases on a total of 348 persons (contraband, currency operations, speculation: 1868 persons; illegal violation of the state border or attempts to cross the border: 78 persons; etc.)

Before heading the KGB, R. Sillar for several months was head of the section for protecting the constitutional order. His predecessor in this section, the fifth KGB section, until the mid-1980's engaged in open persecution of dissidents. According to Tiit Madisson's data, in this regard R. Sillar is a "clean page." The KGB chairman asserted that he personally respects Lagle Parek. "She and those who shared her beliefs never changed their color; they were always true to their principles."

### **Can the Past Repeat Itself?**

According to R. Sillar, until the second half of the 1980's in the USSR and Estonia everything that took place was governed by the laws of a totalitarian society, in the spirit of searching for enemies. During that period, the KGB chairman was a member of the Bureau of the Estonian CP Central Committee, which explains a good deal. R. Sillar pointed out that until now the KGB has been primarily an organ of the Party bureaucracy. Only recently has the destatization of the KGB begun. Yet even so, R. Sillar does not risk to swear with his hand on his heart that the past will not repeat itself. "There are no

normative guarantees," he says. The draft law on state security drawn up in Moscow does not provide such guarantees.

Nevertheless, R. Sillar declared that the KGB, of which he is chairman, is not persecuting anyone on political grounds.

R. Sillar is concerned that in the Estonian Republic there is a clear attempt to concentrate power in a few hands. This refers to the draft law on the police, according to which the MVD is to be converted into a security police. According to R. Sillar, the police, intelligence and counter-intelligence should be separate. "The history of the KGB teaches that the greatest crimes were committed precisely when the state security and MVD were under one roof."

According to R. Sillar's information, from 1940-1963 over 60,000 persons were repressed in Estonia. He cannot cite a more specific figure. The cellars of the KGB contain 29,500 cases, most of which are for groups (2-3 persons convicted). Over the last year and a half the KGB has presented materials to rehabilitate 5000 persons (this figure did not exceed 600 for 1970-1985). The KGB chairman promised to repay the debt to the past.

#### **The KGB Does Not Reveal Its Own Secrets**

Obviously, the KGB archives also contain other cases besides those of persons repressed. And these others seem to many people to be the most dangerous. R. Sillar told of one person who stated in the press that because he refused to become a paid KGB agent he was "made" into a member of the "omakaytse" brigade meting out punishment to the population. According to R. Sillar, his subordinates searched through the archives and discovered an interesting document. The German police in November 1941 questioned a person close to Maksim Unt, the minister of internal affairs of the June government. According to him, in 1940 this "person angry at the KGB" was often seen in the NKVD building. Then, this same person "walked around with a small Estonian flag in his lapel, seeking to make the acquaintance of pro-Estonian youths, and allowed himself to be arrested with others..."

The KGB knows how to keep its secrets. R. Sillar refused to tell me to whom specifically he was referring. He declared that intelligence and counter-intelligence will never reveal the names of people who cooperated with them. That is how it is done everywhere in the world, and in Estonia. As to the person who refused to cooperate with the KGB, he was well known in "omakaytse", and the organs did not slander him.

What is the KGB's budget? Today, all the money comes from Moscow; the total cannot be revealed. R. Sillar is not talkative. He speaks seriously: "I want to work here tomorrow." How many people work in the Estonian KGB? What is the percentage of Estonians among them?

"There could be more of them," R. Sillar answers. By the way, a couple of Estonians entered the national state security school this year.

#### **The KGB Remains in Estonia**

The special commission of the government and Supreme Soviet of Estonia handling the reorganization of the KGB has taken no decisions on eliminating the KGB. R. Sillar does not comment on what arguments the commission considered, but termed its approach realistic. It is not a matter of total fear, but of the search for reasonable solutions.

The KGB chairman believes the activities of his agency in Estonia (not referring to intelligence and counter-intelligence) must be focused on Estonia and be monitored by Estonia's management agencies and organs. The KGB considers it necessary to reduce the number of its employees in local offices (going so far as creating regional structures). The focus on Estonia, according to R. Sillar, also means that as early as this summer foreigners will be able to travel around the republic without special permission (Khiyumaas Days, Vorms Days, etc.). There are plans to open up 11 Estonian ports for them. The KGB chairman said that it is now up to the government and local agencies whether conditions will be created in these ports to organize border and customs controls.

R. Sillar is convinced that the Estonian people will themselves decide how they will become independent (the people's voice is the Lord's voice). The KGB does not resolve these questions. The KGB does not intend to undertake the duties of a thundering fist which will suppress the people's will. Colonel R. Sillar believes that his agency's job today is to maintain civil peace and prevent possible violence. Since the KGB's operatives obviously have access not only to "risk groups," the agency can predict possible disturbances and even outbreaks of violence. As to what will become of the KGB in the future, that will be decided by talks between Tallinn and the Kremlin.

#### **Lithuanian Prison Workers' Strike**

90UN2668A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian  
3 Aug 90 p 3

#### **[Report: "Strike of Colony Workers"]**

[Text] On 1 August, corrections officials, production workers, and administrative personnel at the Alytus corrective labor colony with a strict regimen refused to work. For half a day conditions in the colony were almost out of control. Soldiers surrounded the colony.

According to a report by an ELTA correspondent, the director of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Corrections Administration, Jonas Blazelevicius, together with officials of the republic Procurator's Office, and other key officials of the MVD Corrections Administration, met with representatives of the colony administration and



with prison inmates. The institution's officials expressed a number of grievances with regard to working conditions, citing attacks and the taking of hostages by inmates. The officials are demanding that more attention be given to their problems, affording them greater legal protection, since no one serving at the facility feels secure.

### Georgian MVD 1990 Semiannual Crime Report

90UN2706C Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
27 Jul 90 p 3

[Report by Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs:  
"Totally Unclassified: Crime Statistics for Six Months of  
1990"]

[Text] Not long ago, even with the boldest imagination, it was difficult to imagine that these figures, tables, and diagrams could be published on the pages of the press. Stamped Top Secret, they were placed on the desks of only the top militia and party officials. They were carefully hidden from the public so as not to sow panic and undermine the prestige of the militia. That is "there," over the "hill," where the crime rate increases not by the day, but by the hour; "here" we have peace, quiet, and heaven. Behind the palisade of happy figures was safely hidden the true state of the operational situation, which was not getting any better because of this.

Today, criminal statistics are totally unclassified. Being under lock and key for almost 70 years, the statistics have finally come out into the light, to the people.

The statistical data offered to the readers in graphic form graphically indicate the complexity of the situation and the "upsurge" of the curve of crimes of all types, including

grave crimes. But such are the realities of our life today. And they should be known so that we can think together about how to correct the situation and how to help the militia in bringing order throughout the territory of our republic.

A serious conversation about strengthening lawfulness and law and order took place at an expanded session of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and the Bureau of the Georgian CP Central Committee. Ignorance of the elementary norms of lawfulness and the fairly widespread atmosphere of impunity and irresponsibility, it was noted at the session, frequently create such chaotic and almost anarchic situations that there is a danger to the physical and social protection of citizens and the realization of their elementary rights. We cannot tolerate this, for we have approached a line over which it is fatal to cross.

All law enforcement agencies and each of their services and subdivisions, guided by the interests of the people and the country, are called upon to restructure their work radically and fundamentally, increasing in every possible way the responsibility of every element, every worker. Soviet and party bodies, public organizations, and all the people are obligated to cooperate actively with them and assist law enforcement agencies in every possible way. For order and peace on our land is a vital cause of all the people, all of Georgia, and each of its residents, and not just of individual state bodies.

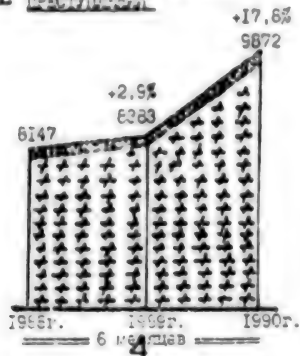
### Commentary of the Information Center of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs

The figure 9,872—this is the number of crimes recorded in our republic during the first 6 months of the year. The increase was 17.8 percent compared to the same period last year.

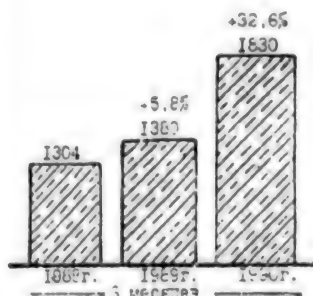
Table 1. Crime Dynamics for Autonomous Republics, Oblasts, Large Cities, and Regions

	6 Months of 1989	Percentage Increase or Decrease Compared to 6 Months of 1988	6 Months of 1990	Percentage Increase or Decrease Compared to 6 Months of 1989
Abkhaz ASSR	1,313	-6.7	1,729	+31.7
Adzhar ASSR	519	+2.2	582	+12.1
South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast	228	+7.0	427	+87.3
Transport Militia	675	+5.6	665	-1.5
Tbilisi	1,763	-0.8	2,142	+21.5
Kutaisi	329	+19.6	452	+37.4
Sukhumi	411	-4.9	629	+53.0
Batumi	250	-0.8	153	-38.8
Tskhinvali	93	+16.3	151	+62.4
Rustavi	166	+0.6	207	+24.7

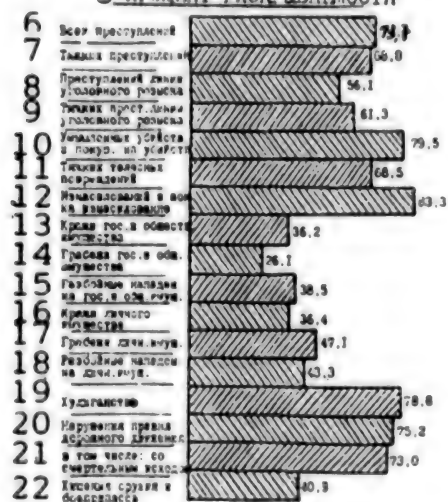
## 1 ДИНАМИКА ПРЕСТУПНОСТИ

2 ВСЕГО ЗАРЕГИСТРИРОВАНО  
ПРЕСТУПЛЕНИЙ

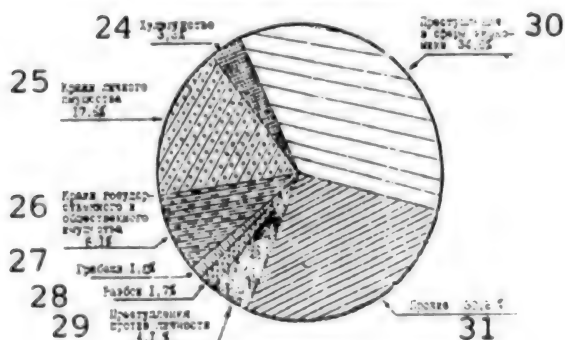
## 3 В ТОМ ЧИСЛЕ ПРЕСТУПЛЕНИЙ



## 5 ПРОЦЕНТ РАСКРЫВАЕМОСТИ



## 23 СТРУКТУРА ПРЕСТУПНОСТИ



## KEY:

1. Crime Dynamics
2. Total Crimes Recorded
3. Including Grave Crimes
4. 6 Months
5. Percentage of Detection
6. All crimes
7. Grave crimes
8. Criminal investigation crimes
9. Criminal investigation grave crimes
10. Premeditated murder and attempted murder
11. Aggravated assault
12. Rape and attempted rape
13. Larceny of state and public property
14. Theft of state and public property
15. Robbery of state and public property
16. Larceny of personal property

17. Theft of personal property
18. Robbery of personal property
19. Hooliganism
20. Traffic law violations
21. including those with fatal outcome
22. Theft of weapons and ammunition
23. Structure of Crime
24. Hooliganism
25. Larceny of personal property
26. Larceny of state and public property
27. Theft
28. Robbery
29. Crimes against a person
30. Crime in the area of the economy
31. Other crimes

Table 2. Crime Level per 10,000 Population

	6 Months of 1989	6 Months of 1990
Georgian SSR	15.4	18.1
Abkhaz ASSR	24.5	32.2
Adzhar ASSR	13.2	14.8
South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast	23.0	43.1
Tbilisi	14.0	17.0
Kutaisi	14.0	19.2
Rustavi	10.5	13.1
Sukhumi	33.9	51.9
Batumi	18.3	11.2
Tskhinva	18.6	35.2

The number of larcenies of personal, state, and public property increased, and what is especially alarming is that crimes directed against the life and health of citizens also increased. The "curve" of thefts and robberies continues to crawl upward; they increased by 84.2 and 168.5 percent, respectively.

According to statistics, cities are more dangerous today than villages, with 68.5 percent of the crimes being committed in the cities. Compared to the same period last year, the crime rate in the cities increased more than 1.5-fold. A high rate of growth of so-called "street crime" was also noted—9.6 percent of the total number of offenses were committed on the streets, in courtyards, on squares, and in public gardens.

Who is violating the law and in what condition are they? During the first six months of the year, internal affairs organs detected 6,124 people committing crimes: 18.8 percent of them were women; less than 2 percent were juveniles 14-15 years of age. Of the criminals detected and arrested, 4,759 (or 77.7 percent) were brought up on criminal charges; 1,365 were released on bail, pending investigation of their cases in the comrades' courts, or for other reasons.

The number of crimes committed by minors and with their involvement was 418, which is 68.5 percent more than during the same period in 1989. Criminal charges were brought against 478 minors, or 64.3 more than in the last six months.

The number of crimes committed by individuals in the state of intoxication also increased from 617 to 713.

During the [first] six months of this year there were 184 murders and attempted murders. The rate of increase of this type of crime is 62.8 percent. There were 179 cases of aggravated assault (an increase of 29.7 percent) and 46 cases of rape or attempted rape recorded.

The state of traffic safety causes concern. In this six-month period there were 844 offenses of this category

recorded, including 288 with a fatal outcome, which is 20.7 and 34 percent, respectively, more than during the same period last year.

More than 8,000 criminal cases and crime materials were investigated during the first six-month period. Of that number, 6,000 were discovered, and 2,320 were halted in connection with a lack of investigation or inability to establish the perpetrators to be brought to trial. The total percentage of detection was 73.7, and for criminal investigation crimes—56.1 percent.

The publishing of such depressing statistics is not meant as a reproach to the militia—look people, they say, how many crimes are being committed and how many criminals (and dangerous ones, besides!) have remained unpunished and have escaped answering to the law. Not at all. It seems to us that these data give cause for the following conclusions. First of all, internal affairs organs have rejected the faulty practice of hushing up the truth and are not afraid to show their activities in an unfavorable light. Secondly, there is a reason for the increase in the crime rate—in connection with the aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, a considerable number of employees of the militia service are being diverted from their direct functions to settle conflicts. Thirdly, and finally, the workload has increased sharply for operational investigatory subdivisions, and they by no means are always able to handle their work efficiently. Here the militia needs understanding and assistance, both financial and personnel.

#### Growing Crime Rate Statistics Analyzed

90UN2607A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
25 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by A. Illesh and V. Rudnev, legal adviser: "Fighting Crime: Illusions and Reality"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has circulated a press release on the state of law and order in the USSR. True, the ministry cites not all legal statistics, but only part of them—crime dynamics compared to last year. And this involves only recorded incidents of a criminal nature. We would remind the reader: in the future the number of them will decrease—part of the cases have halted investigation, and some of the accused have been acquitted by the court... Therefore, the figures cited by the USSR MVD naturally do not fully reflect the level of crime (also do not forget latent crimes—a huge number of crimes concealed from reporting) and give only an approximate idea of its dynamics.

So, here are the criminal statistics. In the first half of the year, agencies of internal affairs and the procuracy recorded more than 1,263,000 crimes. This is 160,800 more than during the same period last year. The rate of growth averaged 14.6 percent; last year the curve of the increase climbed more sharply—32.1 percent. An increase in the crime rate was noted in all union republics except Azerbaijan.



What we would like to call attention to is: above all, be careful of drunks. They commit one out of every three crimes. It is namely in a drunken state that criminals most often infringe upon the life and health of citizens and state and personal property. Drunks are the perpetrators of 72.3 percent of murders and attempted murders, 75 percent of premeditated aggravated assaults, 69.9 percent of rapes, and more than half of robberies and thefts.

**Table 1. General Structure and Dynamics of Crime**

Number	Six Months		
	1989	1990	
	Actual Number	Actual Number	Rate of Increase, in percent
Recorded crimes	1,102,509	1,263,323	14.6
Grave crimes	169,575	206,282	21.6
Property crimes	621,743	730,854	17.5
Street crime	129,577	142,893	10.3
Crime on transport	46,178	57,214	23.9
Crimes in the area of the economy	146,322	152,178	4.0

As before, it is dangerous in the evening and at night. As studies by the USSR MVD showed, almost 60 percent of robberies are committed during this time. It is also dangerous on the streets. One out of every two thefts, one out of every three robberies, one out of every four aggravated assaults, and nearly one out of every nine murders are committed on the streets, on squares, in parks, and in public gardens. The greatest percentage of street crimes have been recorded in the Latvian SSR, Estonian SSR, and Moldavian SSR.

The number of thefts of weapons and ammunition is growing rapidly. In the markets (at prices quite reasonable for criminals) one can buy knives, nunchaks, tear gas, pistols, and submachine guns. This type of crime is the most widespread in the Russian Federation (361 thefts), Armenia (177), the Ukraine (54), Kazakhstan (24), and Azerbaijan (21).

Judging from statistics, it is easiest to deceive the residents of Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan: it is there that the vast majority of the fraud is recorded...

We will make special note of crime in the area of the economy. Recently, Leonid Abalkin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, refuted the opinion of Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB, about the scale of the shadow economy. Whereas the leader of state security estimated it at 150 billion rubles, the deputy premier of the country cited a figure that was far lower—60 billion rubles. L. Abalkin maintains that speculation accounts for most of this turnover.

But the figures are not even the point. The main thing is to resolve the question: What to do with speculators? Continue to keep them outside the law, dooming them to eternal residence in the shadow economy, or legalize their enterprise within the framework of market relations? It would seem that the answer is clear; after all, the country's path is toward a market economy. But today the slogan of the United Front of Working People is also popular: "We will not permit legalization of the shadow economy."

Controlling emotions, in our minds we understand: speculation is an ordinary commercial transaction. But, you see, you also will not order a "heart" raised often on primitive ideological patterns. And while we are trying to reconcile economic considerations and worldly emotions, the number people brought up on criminal charges for speculation in just 6 months reached almost 10,000. Assets amounting to more than 9 million rubles have been seized from criminals of this sort...

Bribery is once again on the rise. Although the rate of increase was 17.3 compared to last year, the absolute number of these grave crimes is still not great—about 3,000 incidents in 6 months for the whole country (but the latency here, experts maintain, is extremely high). Petty thefts of state and public property, which you would not categorize as dangerous, increased sevenfold—21,000. The damage increased by millions. Some "petty theft"...

**Table 2. Information on Undisclosed Crimes**

Types	Remainder of Undisclosed Crimes During First 6 Months, in thousands		Rate of Increase Compared to 1989, in percent
	1989	1990	
Total crimes	350.8	489.0	39
Premeditated murder and attempted murder	0.94	1.38	47
Premeditated aggravated assault	5.59	7.04	28
Rape and attempted rape	1.09	1.32	21
Robbery (state and personal)	2.88	4.72	64
Theft (state and personal)	26.9	37.9	41
Larceny (state or public property, not counting petty larceny)	58.9	95.3	62
Larceny (personal property)	197.0	262.0	33

Incidentally, the curve would have been much sharper, statistics maintain, if not for the militia. Internal affairs organs cut short more than 32,500 crimes in the stage of preparation or attempt, which is 1.2 percent more than in the same period last year. The latter can be considered among the successes. But it does not hide the USSR MVD and its sins.

Now let us compare the two tables. In the first one—dynamics of crime—the result largely does not depend on the professionalism of the militia. And it is certainly not the militia that should be rebuked for the constant increase in crime in recent years. Nor should it be the only one credited with the decline in this rate of increase (to 14 percent). The indicators in the second table—undisclosed crimes—are entirely on the conscience of the internal defense organs. You would agree, a 40-percent (in only half a year) increase in undisclosed crimes—and this amounts to hundreds of thousands of unpunished criminals roaming free and ready at any moment to act again—is not simply bad. Such a situation can nullify all the efforts of other institutions for maintaining order.

In completing the statistical series, let us ask ourselves: What is hidden behind the figures? It is tempting, of course, to expound on the decline in the rate of increase in crime and call attention to the fact that their dynamics have slowed down by a half in the 6 months. And if we consolidate positions and develop offensiveness, we can stop the increase in crime altogether by the end of the year. In short, give some optimism to the extremely sad criminal statistics. But... "There are no grounds for optimism," Minister Vadim Bakatin admitted, assessing the criminal situation according to the results of the first 6 months of the year. "In any country where market relations are already developed, the crime rate is usually much higher than in our country. So, we should also expect an even greater increase in the crime rate; consequently, we also will have to spend more money to fight crime."

Without a doubt, money is needed: cheap justice costs society dearly. And we are ready to tighten our belt once again for the sake of our own safety. But let us not forget another, equally wise rule: money must be invested in a reliable cause. Unfortunately, you cannot call our present legal system reliable. The reform announced 2 years ago, it seems, has begun to slip. The investigatory apparatus is in a state of confusion: to this day it is unknown who will inherit it. The concept of the procuracy bodies has still not been determined... What is more, it seems that it is the procuracy that is becoming the next area of conflict between the center and the union republics. Our court is no longer proletarian, but the jury also has not arrived there yet. From all appearances, the militia has its share of organizational troubles, too. It is still not clear where our money will go, pooled into the union budget of the ministry or to maintain our own local municipal militia.

The successes of society in fighting crime are equally unclear, or rather illusory.

### Problems, Solutions to Reducing Crime Discussed

90UN26087B Moscow SOYUZ in Russian  
No 27, Jul 90 pp 12-13

[Article by SOYUZ special correspondent Natalya Boyarkina; interview with Valentin Ilich Kosyakov, general director of the private criminal investigation agency "Aleks", by Sergey Yani; and article by Professor Yu. Abolentsev, doctor of economic sciences, and A. Korovin, candidate of legal sciences and senior scientific associate: "Why Are We so Afraid To Live Today? Because We Are Lost in This World"]

[Text] It seems our passion for overthrowing idols knows no boundaries. But, alas, how often do we reject offhand true ideals. Next to the Moscow Planetarium—this temple of science—the pedestal of the statue of Galileo stands vacant, and it is distressing to look at the disfigured statue of the son of the Russian land—Mikhail Lomonosov. Will we really leave this world like this for our children and grandchildren—on a foundation destroyed down to its base?

### N. Boyarkina: Because Criminals Do Not Want To Be Re-educated

The textbooks intended for students of law VUZes until recently cheerfully promised a decrease in the crime rate as socialism developed. A countless number of newspaper and magazine pages were devoted to discussions on the topic of how to force or help the criminal re-educate himself. Usually, the diametrically opposed opinions were at a ratio of 50 to 50. Some demanded making measures harsher: punish them in such a way that they do not do it again; cut off their heads, hands, and feet, like in ancient times. Others demanded humaneness, the repeal of capital punishment and various articles of the Criminal Code that have become outdated. Meanwhile, behind the fences of the corrective-labor institutions, institutional life with its rules, laws, and conventions, which were not in any way influenced by our heated arguments and sensible suggestions, went backward tens of years.

Long ago riots of various scales by the prisoners, modestly called disturbances by the law enforcement agencies, hinted that it was time to take up restructuring of this sphere of existence, too.

Many such disturbances occur. Last year there were 77 of them. The convicts (from among those who do not respect order) seized 177 people as hostages, 83 of them women. Three of the hostages were killed, and 300 officers were attacked. Another eight people died in these clashes.

In the past 20 years, last year was noted for having the largest number of crimes committed in colonies. Compared to 1988, the crime rate in the colonies increased by

84.6 percent. Dangerous crimes increased especially: premeditated murder, theft, robbery, escapes.

There are now more than 700,000 people in the country's correctional institutions, including 100,000 murderers; 80,000 are repeat offenders. Another 143,000 people are in LTPs [corrective labor institutions]. Almost one out of every three people released from places of confinement commits another crime.

The last major amnesty was announced in connection with the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. In their joy, they released 1,100,000 criminals, including especially dangerous repeat offenders; 16,000 of the people given amnesty at that time returned to the prison plank beds. But during this time they committed thousands of murders, rapes, and aggravated assaults.

Until recently, the system of corrective-labor institutions was kept out of the sight of outsiders, journalists, and glasnost. Now it only remains to establish that the system sometimes did not fulfill its functions and was incapable of fulfilling them, having what it has to re-educate the criminals.

People who have never seen the life of a colony from the inside demand more toughness with respect to the convicts and eliminating the "domestication" of places of confinement by such methods as television, sports fields, and so forth. This all is beginning to be implemented willingly, since it requires neither input of the mind nor expenditure of finances. Last year, procurators conducted about 24,000 inspections of corrective-labor institutions, SIZOs [examination cells], and LTPs; they discovered 13,723 violations of the law by those who are supposed to observe it. Some 2,754 people have been released from punishment cells; 76,000 complaints by convicts and prisoners have been resolved.

The conditions of serving a sentence and of imprisonment before trial do not conform either to sanitary-hygienic norms or international standards. All this neglect results in one out of every eight convicts contracting tuberculosis. This is 17 times higher than among the normal population. As of the beginning of the year, there were 98,000 people in corrective-labor institutions who were sick with tuberculosis; almost half of them with the active form. The death rate in the colonies is ten times higher than for the country as a whole.

The administration frequently has a couldn't-care-less attitude not only towards physical but also moral health. Drugs, games of chance, moonshining—all this is found in abundance in the colonies. Often the officers themselves from among the administration get caught "smuggling": they bring in and sell to the criminals things that are banned in the colonies, and not without profit, of course. A pack of the cheapest tea—ten rubles, a bottle of alcohol—up to 50 rubles, and so forth. The amount confiscated in just a year indicates the scale of the

business: 90,000 liters of alcoholic beverages, two million rubles of free cash, and 130 kg of narcotic substances. The investigative isolation ward in the city of Kazan was especially notable for this. For money, they even released the prisoners for outings.

The corrective-labor institution does not live up to the name corrective or labor. To work here is not exactly uninteresting, it is senseless. The fixed production assets of the corrective-labor institution are worn out to the point of disrepair. The output of the convicts is almost half the labor productivity in similar sectors of the national economy. It is simply impossible to interest the convicts in earning money to make a living. According to the rules, half of their earnings is collected for the state budget, and money is withheld from the remaining amount for food, uniforms, child support, if there are children, and to cover the damage to the victims. As a result, the richest and hardest working convict has 25 rubles a month left in the "stall," where he can buy something from the meal.

A market economy will force the corrective-labor institutions to thoroughly "eat" on state subsidy. Now, 22 rubles go to feed one convict per month, but what will they do if bread begins to cost 70 kopecks or one ruble? Fundamentals of corrective-labor legislation are needed, otherwise you and I will have to feed those from whom we want to protect ourselves. The corrective-labor institutions are unprofitable now, too. Claimed indebtedness of the convicts is 480 million rubles, which is simply impossible to cover given the existing economic conditions in the colonies.

One out of every four convicts does not cover expenses for keeping him in custody; 83,500 people do not work for various reasons, 4,700 of them due to the lack of work. Income from the corrective-labor institutions is 250 million rubles less than the state's expenditures for maintaining the colonies.

"Underestimating the role of corrective-labor institutions in implementing criminal policy, isolation, and adherence to historically compromised traditions have resulted in many of the system's problems taking on a nationwide importance and becoming a factor of destabilization of law and order in a number of regions," believes Yu.A. Khitrin, member of the Collegium of the USSR Procuracy.

In order to achieve results in the fight against crime, we must introduce genuine humaneness into the system of working with convicts.

Feeding restrictions in penalty isolation wards and punishment by forbidding meetings with relatives, correspondence, and contacts with the labor collectives has the opposite effect. A person shuns normal life and family and is drawn to the one who accepts him—the criminal world, like it or not, submitting to its laws.

"Strange as it may seem to many, our legislation with respect to convicts is considered very harsh compared to



the practice in many countries, including Asian countries," remarked Khitrin. "And this makes it difficult for us to sign various international pacts in this area, including the Minimum Standard Rules of Contact with Prisoners.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is now considering proposals to change the Fundamental of Corrective-Labor Legislation. But in my view, the draft is in rough form and required refinement and comprehensive popular discussion.

It is difficult not to agree with this opinion. After all, law and order should guarantee us peace of mind and confidence. Why is everything again being discussed somewhere high in the upper strata, as if the problem of crime does not concern all of us?

#### **S. Yani: Because There Is No One To Protect Us**

Today it is hard to be surprised by some civil or economic initiatives. The most varied enterprises appear and enter our life. Among them is the "Aleks" Private Investigation Agency.

Our correspondent talks with Valentin Ilich Kosyakov, general director of the agency.

[Yani] Who got the idea of creating your agency and in connection with what?

[Kosyakov] If you are talking about our Moscow bureau, it is difficult to say who has that distinction. The authorship belongs to several people. Especially the idea of organizing a so-called private investigation system in the country from those who, as it is customary to say, are in the air. I would add that considerably many them are attracted by the greater element of creativity in private investigation than in state law enforcement agencies.

[Yani] Just what are the tasks of our organization?

[Kosyakov] Primarily, it is guarding installations, individuals, and property of citizens. Further, correcting the behavior of minors and early preventive measures for prostitution, drug addiction, and other deviations from norms. We also search for people hiding from civil suits and other claims. We provide timely assistance to institutions and enterprises. We fight industrial espionage and the leak of information that is a commercial secret.

[Yani] And are you successful?

[Kosyakov] Let us put it this way: there have been cases when our associates have discovered the sources of the leak of important information at a number of joint ventures.

[Yani] As I understand, the agency or bureau is a public organization?

[Kosyakov] You are absolutely correct. Last October we became the legal successors to a cooperative organization which was called the "Aleks" Moscow Private Investigation Bureau.

[Yani] Why did such a transformation take place?

[Kosyakov] The problem was that the Moscow bureau was liquidated. We did not find mutual understanding with the Leningrad "Aleks," under which the capital investigation bureau was also registered. A public organization appeared in its place—the "Aleks" Agency.

[Yani] How do things stand with orders?

[Kosyakov] We are not experiencing a shortage. But while we have virtually no waiting list for private orders, we have been forced to turn down some institutions and enterprises—we do not have enough people.

[Yani] What kind of personnel does "Aleks" have?

[Kosyakov] Former employees of the operational subdivisions of organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB come to work for us... We have former athletes with high skills working in the security subdivisions. You know that the fate of the lads who have left a big sport has become a social problem in our country. "Aleks" is helping to solve it at least in some way.

[Yani] Are there many who wish to work at "Aleks"?

[Kosyakov] Many.

[Yani] How do you select applicants?

[Kosyakov] We conduct a thorough check of candidates. We have a special security service for this. Naturally, we are interested in professional training, but the main criteria is a person's personal qualities, his honesty, and sincerity. We usually only accept one out of every 20 applicants. It is not a simple matter to find a person who has the capabilities and the disposition to work namely in private investigation, in which the ability and desire to communicate with people, making contacts, and, naturally, a high degree of professionalism are most important.

[Yani] As far as I know, the work of foreign private detectives is based on three important points: use of equipment, including special equipment; surveillance; and data received from informants. Do you also use these methods?

[Kosyakov] No, we work by totally different methods. We use those things that are authorized by law. We have neither informants nor surveillance. There are other, I emphasize, legal methods which enable us to obtain necessary and reliable information.

[Yani] Do your employees have a heavy workload?

[Kosyakov] Yes, the workload is higher than in internal affairs organs. In addition, there is a strict specialization at "Aleks." Each person works only on his own case.

[Yani] I see a computer in your office. Does this mean that "Aleks" does some kind of record-keeping?

[Kosyakov] No, we do not keep any small cards or accumulate information—we do not need to do this. Especially since there are items in the contracts with people which oblige us to observe the interests of the client and to maintain confidentiality.

[Yani] From what I understand, your people do not carry weapons?

[Kosyakov] No, we cannot violate the law. But I believe that a private detective should not be left unarmed when faced with criminals equipped with all types of modern personal weapons. In addition, the employees of "Aleks" often guard considerable valuables.

[Yani] Is there a set rate for the services provided by your agency?

[Kosyakov] In each case this depends on the circumstances, the complexity of the situation, and the expenses. But we figure that one day's work of an employee costs an average of 50 rubles.

[Yani] What kind of mutual relations does "Aleks" have with law enforcement agencies?

[Kosyakov] They only come down to the fact that their employees work in the agency. We are not at all subordinate either to the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the KGB. ...Our only criterion is the law.

#### **Yu. Abolentsev and A. Korovin: Because Opportunists Are Becoming Increasingly Impertinent**

The seething Rizhskiy Market, known throughout the country, is in Moscow. It has everything. From sewing needles to fur products overflowing with all colors of the rainbow. The prices? As a rule, they run in two and most often three or even four figures, which is hardly reasonable for the vast majority of the population.

And all possible measures are taken against speculators. Employees of subdivisions of the BKhSS [Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] are constantly on duty; there are regular unannounced investigations and raids. Periodically, a considerable number of dealers in the shadow economy are removed from the Rizhskiy Market.

Finally, harsher punitive measures are being established with respect to individuals engaged in speculation. However, measures have been taken, but again have not yielded the proper effect.

A legitimate question then arises: Why is the state so irreconcilable and at the same time so unsuccessful in combating speculation? We will try to answer it.

In its essence, speculation undermines the economic basis of society and affects the interests of the administrative-distribution system of the bureaucratic mechanism of administration. Through the trade network, the state sets prices for goods intended for the consumer with an average standard of living. A sort of "social

justice" is demonstrated in this. And this would be somehow justified if the supply of goods corresponded to the buying demand. In actuality, the discrepancy between the supply of goods and the population's demand is increasing catastrophically with each day, and essential goods are disappearing from free sale. In the first quarter of 1990, there were no more than 15 types (out of 225) of basic food products in the free sale of trade enterprises in the country's cities. Two more types disappeared in March of this same year—eggs and wheat flour, and the proportion of food products that are constantly available in free sale was 6 percent of their total number (for comparison: in March 1989, this proportion was 14 percent). In May, only 9 types remained...

In these conditions, conditions of a sharply aggravated shortage, the role of the administrative-distribution system especially grows. It is not by chance that instead of the simple trade formula of "commodity—money," which exists throughout the world, several hypertrophied forms of trade have developed in our country. Only in the Soviet Union, and nowhere else, does there exist such types of distribution trade as these: "business card—money—commodity;" "passport—money—commodity;" trade by appointment; exit trade; servicing purchasers by invitation; sale of goods to large families, veterans, and Afghan vets.

Instead of solving the problem of shortages by economic methods, increasing production, and expanding free trade, the state resorts to tried and tested repressive methods and puts a stop to any attempts to encroach upon the distribution forms of trade. Thus it creates an impression in the population's eyes that it is fighting the shortages, but essentially it turns out, like with Cervantes' well-known hero, that it is a fight with windmills. Such a fight is not only simply unsuccessful, but inflicts considerable economic damage and social harm on society.

The use of punitive measures against individuals pursuing speculation does not stabilize the situation in the country; on the contrary, it leads to an aggravation of social tension. They remove from the sphere of the national economy a certain portion of enterprising and initiative-filled people who, if granted the commercial freedom through taxation, could have done their bit to strengthen the country's economy. In the last three years alone, law enforcement agencies brought to light 130,000 people who have been charged with engaging in speculation. One out of every five of them has been convicted and imprisoned for various terms. One should expect that with the toughening of the fight against speculation these indicators, especially during the initial period of the 27 February 1990 Decree of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet "On Increasing Liability for Abuses in Trade and Speculation," would increase by a factor of 1.5 to 2.

It is also significant that legislators increased penal sanctions for engaging in speculation. Judicial practice is

also taking the path of expanding penal sanctions. In the last 4 years, use of imprisonment decreased from 22.2 percent to eight percent, while the use of penal sanctions increased from 22.2 percent to 37.2 percent. There is a deep meaning here: to patch up the holes in our long-suffering budget through economic measures.

Speculation as a criminally punishable deed is also dangerous because a chain of other crimes usually follows: bribery; abuse of official position; theft of personal, public, and state property; racketeering. In addition, the stepping up of prosecution of speculation is leading to a search for keener methods of acquiring goods, involvement of command-administrative personnel of the commodity distribution sphere in this activity, and an expansion of corrupted associations.

A large detachment of criminal investigation specialists is being diverted to fighting speculation; instead of uncovering grave crimes posing an increased danger to society, they have to deal with economic crimes. In connection with the great caution and very hushed-up nature of those involved in the shadow economy, the most highly skilled workers are diverted. At the same time, there exists a danger of an increase in corruption in the very system of law enforcement agencies, for in their pursuit of making money, the "dealers" do not spare any sums to attract the employees to their side.

The society spends considerable money to "re-educate" dealers in places of imprisonment. Keeping them in the places of imprisonment, expenditures for guards, creating job—all this entails considerable costs. The costs are high, but the effect is paltry. This is evidenced, in particular, by the fact that the number of individuals convicted more than once and serving sentences for speculation is fairly stable and fluctuates between 14 and 15 percent.

Consequently, the state's efforts aimed at eliminating the causes of speculation—the shortages—and at fighting its result cost the state dearly and frequently lead to the directly opposite result. It is not by chance that 86 percent of the employees of internal affairs organs surveyed believe that toughening the fight against speculation at best will provide a brief effect, but we should not expect any overall positive results. Such sentiments are also predominant among the population, where, according to sociological studies, almost half (48 percent) of the citizens do not expect any cardinal changes in the fight against speculation.

Just what is the solution to this situation? Cancel the repressive measures with respect to speculators and end the fight against them? This seems premature in the transitional stage from an administrative-bureaucratic system to a market economy. Legalizing speculation would give it an exceptionally broad scope and jack up the prices on the black market terribly, and this, naturally, would evoke justified outrage on the part of the population and can lead to social outbursts.

However, it is also unthinkable to continue to intensify punitive measures with respect to speculation, for it brings society nothing more than negative consequences. Consequently, there is only one solution—simultaneously with the transition to a market economy, also expand the economic measures for combating speculation; as the market becomes saturated with goods, gradually remove restrictions on the resale of individual types of goods and then groups of goods, and so forth until the acute shortage of goods in the country is eliminated completely.

### Steps To Assure Penal Reforms Noted

#### MVD Briefing Detailed

90UN2640A Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Aug 90 p 4

[Article by A. Trushin: "The 'Zone' Will Be Changed"]

[Text] Today, 769,153 people are serving out their punishment in our country's corrective-labor camps. Of these, 62 percent are recidivists and representatives of organized crime: 30 percent are mentally-ill people; and 16 percent alcoholics and narcotics addicts.

Therefore one should hardly be surprised that the statistics reflect a sad record: the level of crime in places of incarceration has reached the highest level in 20 years. The system for meting out punishment for crime is in extremely profound crisis. How can we find a way out of it? That was the topic of discussion yesterday at a USSR MVD briefing.

Vladimir Gulyayev, chief of the Main Administration for Corrective Affairs, stated that in his opinion, the idea of the priority of "labor education" has collapsed. It is in the corrective labor institutions that the thieves' traditions, with their inherent cruelty, are regenerated to the utmost. One out of every four convicts does not work, for various reasons and under various pretexts. And out of those who nevertheless go into production, one in four does not fulfill his work norms.

What are the USSR MVD and the scientific-research institutes proposing to do about it? To bring our laws into accord with the normals of international law. Above all it is necessary to abandon the practice of holding prisoners who have committed crimes of varying degrees of severity, in the same place. An especially dangerous recidivist should "sit" with recidivists, and a person who has accidentally run over a pedestrian with his automobile—with those like him. Correspondingly, the regimes will be different: for bandits—strict regime, with isolation; but for a minor hooligan a somewhat relaxed regime is possible.

Granting permission for unlimited meetings with relatives, and correspondence, is envisaged. And yet another important feature—now most prisoners will serve out their punishment in their own republic or even oblast. "Zones" will be distributed according to Union, republic and oblast levels.



It is planned to bring the conditions for housing, nourishment, medical assistance, and the necessary minimum of plumbing facilities, up to international standards. Priests, psychologists and sociologists will come to the convicts. The provisions of labor legislation will be applied to the prisoners.

"And, of course, we will strive to ensure," stressed Gulyayev, "that imprisonment will not cause psychological, physical or moral damage to a person's health."

Employees of Corrective Labor Institutions [ITU] were not ignored either. A great many benefits are envisaged for them and for members of their families: guaranteed provision of housing, higher wages, and preferential pensions. Naturally, requirements for their skills, professional competence and suitability for service will also be raised.

Of course, these and other proposed reforms are not at all cheap. Their approximate cost will be 3-3.5 billion rubles; but the MVD is setting about earning the necessary funds itself. Completion of the basic stages of the reform is expected by the year 2000. But the matter is now in the hands of the legislators.

#### MVD Official Interviewed

90UN2640B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 15 Aug 90 p 4

[Interview with MVD USSR GUID Chief V.A. Gulyayev by A. Dyatlov: "Write, Drop In, Phone... Will the Prisons be 'Opened' by the Year 2000?"]

[Text] [Dyatlov] Yesterday we reported on another seizure of SIZO [Sukhumi Detention Ward(?)] by convicts. There is unrest in the country's "zones": in a year-and-a-half the number of hostages seized has increased fivefold; while at the same time 126 ITK [Corrective Labor Colony] employees and military servicemen were killed and wounded; instances of criminals taking the law into their own hands has reached a critical state, and thieves' traditions have been revived.

But yesterday journalists were presented the Conception for Reform of the Criminal-Executive System [sic], which is largely directed toward radical humanization in the ITU [Corrective Labor Institution]. Is that not too much?

[Gulyayev] No, it's not. How many times have you yourself written about the necessity for humanizing the ITK [Corrective Labor Colony] system? It is no secret: Until now the law-enforcement organs have been conducting a penitentiary policy, based on the principle, "the harder you hug them the more peacefully they sleep." But this peacefulness is doubtful, you know.

[Dyatlov] I know. And what kind of genuine steps, shall we say, in holding the convicts does the conception envisage?

[Gulyayev] First of all, we are strictly limiting the jurisdiction of the union (federal) and republic administrative organs of the ITU system, and are headed toward greater republic independence in administering the ITU. We are proposing to abolish the colonies by type of regime, leaving three new ones—the open, semi-open and closed type. Further—we will hold separately not only those convicted for the first time and repeat offenders, but also those honestly serving out their punishment and the "elite" that terrorizes them. We have proceeded along the path of lifting bans that are not of great significance in providing the ITU regime. Well, why, for example do we have to "punish" by limiting correspondence, and by forbidding telephone conversations with one's relatives? And why do we have to watch the relatives before they take their leave?

[Dyatlov] Although I largely look upon these "boys" without sympathy, there is still another thing I do not understand: the court sentences them to loss of freedom, but not to "punishment" rations, depriving them of visits, and humiliation of their relatives...

[Gulyayev] You are correct...

[Dyatlov] And this is especially hard on adolescents.

[Gulyayev] These and all other innovations will be extended to them first of all. And to the ITU's for women.

[Dyatlov] Incidentally, you were describing an experiment with leaves for mothers who have children in the children's homes...

[Gulyayev] This is only a part of the privileges. And as far as juveniles are concerned, in general we would like to transform the VTK [Educational Labor Colony] into educational-labor centers; with good mentors from working collectives, and closer and more accessible to their relatives. Also so that the young people's social ties are not torn, for this disruption is but the beginning of a continual path of crime. This, incidentally, also concerns the adults. And we are heading for a condition in which, say, the special commandant's office and deportation colonies are made open, with limitations, and not deprivation of freedom.

[Dyatlov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, the Conception has a lot to say about education, social rehabilitation and so on. But the ITU system, it seems to me, will not change until it stops being a production system. If I am not mistaken, the MVD, on its account, is one of the five leading industrial ministries; in agricultural machine building alone, your production turnover is a billion...

[Gulyayev] 1,700,000,000; and in many branches we are in general monopolists.

[Dyatlov] Then what kind of education is there, if the plan from ITK is made first and foremost? And what's more, half the earnings of the convicts automatically go to the state, which has been accustomed to this since the

time of GULAG. (And we, who are at large, are indignantly fighting a ten-percent income tax!)

[Gulyayev] Oh my, that is the question of questions. Add to this the fact that the length of the work-day and week are not in accord with the norms of the national economy; and that whether a convict works well or badly, his deductions are the same; that... In general, here we are striving to ensure that all the rights of our labor legislation are extended to the convicts. Right down to insurance, benefits, and regional coefficients, in those places where they exist. On the whole I believe that criminals must justify their own upkeep and the upkeep of the colony (that is, there must be some kind of coefficient for withholding from their wages for this), and to pay for their lawsuits. And they should receive the rest of their wages entirely, just as in a "free" plant. But the Finance Ministry does not support us; there is an awfully good item of income to the budget from the ITK. And the economic situation in our sphere will be even tighter under cost-accounting, and under conditions of republic sovereignty.

[Dyatlov] Tell me (since we have already begun to talk about sovereignty), but will it turn out in such a way that, in spite of the conception and union legislation, in the localities they might adopt their own "sovereign" laws, which permit exploiting the convicts even more? Even if it is for "noble" ends: to patch up the economic breaches by means of cheap labor...

[Gulyayev] They can, of course... With sovereignty (and I support the republics' aspirations for political and economic independence), other problems crop up as well. For example: Russia says that it does not want to be the prison for the nations, and therefore wants to carry out the criminal law only for its citizens, and the remainder must serve their time "in their place of residence." But then all the republics will have to establish all kinds of ITU. Or, what about crimes committed by a single group in the RSFSR, Estonia and Belorussia... Who is to investigate them? Where to hold them after the trial?.. We discussed this recently, at a gathering of the chiefs of administration from almost all countries: apparently the solution is in combining the efforts of the administrations, departments and ministries, whatever they may be called. After all, crime knows no boundaries. Exclusiveness in the struggle with crime might become ruinous...

[Dyatlov] And nevertheless, what about "sovereign exploitation"?

[Gulyayev] In this respect we are striving on a nationwide level to strengthen the basic rights of the convicts, as I said—a minimum which corresponds with world conceptions and agreements, which would exclude the very possibility of living off their labor. We are establishing our own investment bank for maintaining and re-equipping the ITK. First to decide to take part in it was the MVD of Armenia. But beyond this, it is a matter of conscience and the law of the republics. It is precisely

for this reason that we have drawn up—not a law, and not an order—but a conception, the scientific basis,

[Dyatlov] But after all, that too is nothing, if changes are not introduced to the criminal and criminal-executive legislation...

[Gulyayev] All that is so...

[Dyatlov] ...and it will cost the state...

[Gulyayev] ...3.5 billion rubles up to the year 2000. But...at the same time we are not prepared to rip off a single kopeck from anyone. Judge for yourself: for 10 years, 7 billion will be transferred to the budget from the ITU, based on present norms. We are merely proposing to leave the system half of the money earned from this sum. Because the bottom line of the action of the conception is higher: to reduce the social tensions in the ITK and around them, and real assistance in the struggle with crime.

#### MVD Official on Efforts To Curb Rising Crime

90UN2639B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
15 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with S. Lisauskas, Lieutenant General of Police, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, by B. Pipiya: "In Broad Daylight: Let's Have a United Front Against Crime"]

[Excerpts] Along the Abakan-Kyzyl Highway a criminal stopped a KamAZ truck and demanded that the driver give him some vodka or money. Upon hearing a refusal, he shot through a wheel of the truck and the rear window of its cab. Fortunately, the driver was not hurt. The criminal was arrested.

On a street in the city of Kokhma, Ivanovo Oblast a criminal dressed in the uniform of a police sergeant broke into a workers' cafeteria, smashed it up, stole a bag of money from it, and escaped.

On a street in Baku three criminals used a cylinder of tear gas on a citizen of the FRG who was in the USSR upon a private invitation. Then they robbed him of 2,000 rubles, 800 FRG marks, along with his clothes, and they escaped.

[B. Pipiya] Stasis Genrikovich, the operational summaries of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs alert us every day by such reports as these. Street crime has reached the point where people shoot at passers-by from passenger cars. And youths play cards in doorways with the stipulation that the loser will beat up the first person he encounters. What has happened? Or is the press blowing up the situation? Were things this way prior to the opening up of police statistics?

[S. Lisauskas] Of course, glasnost has riveted the public's attention to crime. And this has blown the situation up to a certain extent. But let's take the following example: in the United States there are 5,667 crimes annually per

100,000 population; in the FRG the corresponding figure is 7,359; but in the Soviet Union it is only 852.

[passage omitted]

In the last two years the crime curve has crept upward. Here too we are singling out a particular category of lawbreaking, i.e., crimes committed on streets and plazas, in parks and squares.

Matters are especially unfavorable in this regard in the Baltic republics. And the least street crime occurs—this will come as a surprise to some people—in “bellicose” Transcaucasia. I have not found a precise explanation for this. But let me note that street crime is basically characteristic of cities where a person can successfully “melt away” into a crowd. But in Transcaucasia, as they say, everybody is related to everybody else; they all know each other; it is difficult to cover one’s tracks and, therefore hard to escape from a place. This circumstance, obviously, also deters “amateurs” from savagely beating people up on the streets, robbing them, or committing thefts.

The Soviet Union has 76,300 persons active in patrol-and-guardpost service. In recent years this number has been stabilized. But the work to be done by the police has increased considerably. Judge for yourself: many socio-political events are now being held on streets and squares. Tens of thousands of people assemble at them. And so we have to divert forces to maintain order at such events.

[passage omitted]

[B. Pipiya] Yes, wine and vodka products are in short supply. And, at the same time, one out of every three street crimes is committed by persons in a state of inebriation. The well-known campaign against alcohol has proved to be, unfortunately, a campaign with rhetoric but no results. And I cannot imagine how the police intend to combat this evil.

[S. Lisauskas] At the present time the police remain one-on-one in the struggle against drunkards. I can assert this with complete responsibility. The streets cannot be cleared of alcoholics by means of administrative measures. “Dry laws” have never justified themselves in the world. Tightening up measures on the sale of wine and vodka items has given rise to many, many new problems in our country. Sugar was channeled into home-brewing, and persons speculating in the shortage of sugar began to “warm their hands” at this. Here we obviously should turn to world experience. The market should be plentifully supplied with alcoholic beverages, but persons should be diverted from them by opportunities for good recreation, by swimming pools, sports areas, entertaining games, attractions, etc.

In maintaining and safeguarding public order we have been aided by detachments of “druzhinniki” [volunteer guards], but they have gradually begun to decline. From 14 million the number of “druzhinniki” had been

reduced to 9 million today. It used to be that for one day a month spent on such guard duty a “druzhinnik” would receive three days of leave. This has now become economically unprofitable for enterprises.

[B. Pipiya] I had intended to write, although I never got around to it, about the voluntary society known as “Dzerzhinets” for aiding the police. It operates in connection with the 114th Police Precinct of Moscow’s October RUV [Rayon Internal Affairs Administration]. Some 250 persons, ranging in age from 14 to pension years, patrol their own neighborhood under the direction of Police Major A. Vyunov. I can hardly wait for the results to come in.

Similar societies and clubs also exist in other places, and, of course, they must be encouraged in all manner of ways. But there is far from enough initiative here. It must be admitted that we have a shortage of policemen. Thus, in Paris for every policeman there are 180 inhabitants of the city; in New York the corresponding figure is 150; but in Moscow and Minsk it is 1,700 and 2,000 respectively. And here the following question occurs to me: We are being guarded from would-be foreign conquerors by many millions of military service personnel. At the same time Soviet people within the country are subjected on a daily basis to bandit attacks, thefts, and larceny.... Why not have part of the Soviet Army change to police uniforms? They would maintain order around their own home neighborhoods so that people could walk along the streets without being afraid.

[S. Lisauskas] We have brought that question up. After all, you know, police regiments do recruit those military service personnel who have completed their short-term period of service. Furthermore, in my opinion, the kids would not be opposed to serving in police units close to their own homes. But this matter is now up to the Ministry of Defense. For our part, we would accept help from the military.

But if we are to speak of immediate plans, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has brought up the question of recalling those police units which were ordered to proceed to our country’s “hot spots.” They have had to shoulder the fundamental task of maintaining and safeguarding public order. Only in case of necessity could these forces be switched around.

I’d like to remark that the very concept of “patrol-and-guardpost service” has become outmoded or obsolete. It should be more generalized and ought to be called “service in maintaining order and security or safety.” Because we cannot divert the GAI [State Motor-Vehicle Inspectorate] from this. We’d like to return to the old system: include a staff member from the patrol-and-guardpost service in the GAI crew. And, in general, there should be a person in charge of each street, one who would be personally responsible for order on his own section of the route.

[passage omitted]



[B. Pipiya] Stasis Genrikhovich, I am also disturbed by the fact that some criminals are technically much better equipped and outfitted than the police. Last year Junior Sergeant K. Bondarenko from the 38th Police Precinct of Moscow's Krasnogvardeyskiy Raon was fatally wounded while checking the documents of some suspicious men on a nighttime street. And this tragedy might not have happened if Bondarenko, just half an hour before the incident occurred, had not taken off his bulletproof vest and given it to his comrade, who was heading for duty in a more dangerous district. Instead of the 40 necessary bulletproof vests, the 38th Police Precinct has only 5 of them. I was also told there that, because of a shortage of gasoline, the policemen have had to take...streetcars out to the site of an incident.

[S. Lisauskas] These facts are, of course, vexing and sad. If there is a gasoline shortage in the country, then we too fall into a crisis-type situation. But now the problem has been solved in such a way that the "first-aid" and internal-affairs organs have top priority in being supplied with fuel.

This have also become better this year with regard to motor vehicles. We received 21,000 of them with improved engineering characteristics especially for the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

As to bulletproof vests, nightsticks, anti-impact shields, and other special equipment, we cannot assume that we will need them so soon.

[B. Pipiya] It would be a good thing if the deputies at this session were to remember their own election-campaign promises—not to "spare the horse" when it comes to fighting crime and safeguarding the citizens from it. Such a responsibility to the voters is borne by deputies at all levels. Of course, matters used to stand as follows: the police units were operating with gaps or omissions; the enterprise administrations would "look through their fingers" at drunkenness; the local party organs would call up defendants, as they say "on the carpet." Nowadays the party has departed from the position of leadership, but the soviets, unfortunately, have not yet reoriented themselves. And it's high time that they did so!

[S. Lisauskas] In each region we must thoroughly analyze the situation which gives rise to crime and work according to the following principle: the police must be where necessary, when necessary, and in whatever numbers are necessary.

### **Prison for Former Intelligence Officers Described**

90UN2639A Moscow POISK in Russian  
No 25, 22-28 Jun 90 p 8

[Article by Aleksandra Mukhina, special correspondent:  
"A Prison for Generals"]

[Excerpts] On several occasions POISK has addressed the topic of building a state based on the rule of law: it has published articles on the problems of women's crime,

corrective-labor colonies for juveniles, etc. In preparing these materials our consultants have been well-known scientists—legal specialists, sociologists, and psychologists.

Today we present for your attention a story about a most extraordinary corrective-labor institution, one where former officials are being re-educated.

Serving time in Corrective-Labor Colony No 13 are those persons who should have been protecting us from violence—generals and colonels, former officials and staff members of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the KGB, as well as from various procurators' offices. The very fact that our country has, in addition to the usual type of ordinary "zones," several corrective-labor colonies for former officials of the law-enforcement organs, in which thousands of persons are serving sentences, persons who used to wear the uniforms of defenders of the law—all this attests to the following: the mechanisms of the law are in need of urgent repair....

In the Nizhne-Tagil Colony the convicts are frequently called "former staff associates." Of course, the first question I asked was whether these "formers staff associates" enjoyed any privileges. To be sure, I did not succeed in discovering any out of the ordinary, unless one counts the dinner, which was at least as good as the "statistically average" domestic fare.

"Everything is in accordance with the norms," the cook reassured me.

Despite the fact that this colony's bin or pantry revealed food products which are unknown to the city's free inhabitants, everything which I saw came under the heading of items which a convict has the right to purchase. This was confirmed by the acting head of the ITK [corrective-labor colony] and the storekeeper, who was a "former staff associate." Now is everything they have according to the law?

I see nothing improper in the fact that the colony's administration feeds the criminals "in accordance with the norms" and cares for the convicts in accordance with the letter of the law. Because, after all, the very establishment or creation during the 1950's of a corrective-labor institution for lawbreakers who were staff associates of the law-enforcement organs was one of the first steps toward the observance of socialist legality. The creation of a "special colony" was a test probe aimed at constructing a model state based on the rule of law, a place where the following principle is to be observed: Even if you have committed a crime, the law protects your rights as an individual. In an "ordinary" type of corrective-labor colony the fate of a former procurator or investigator upon meeting his "old acquaintances" was all-too predictable: mockery, humiliation, and death. In order to secure or safeguard "former staff associates" from the punitive hands of the criminal world, a colony along "professional" lines was created for them—a unique kind of corrective institution, also unique in the

sense that here the law is observed with enviable scrupulousness. A prisoner truly has everything that he is permitted to have: the detachments or sections have television sets and refrigerators. Instead of the usual "soldiers' mess" tables with seats for 10 men each, the dining-room has furniture just like that which can be rented from cafes. There are virtually none of the crimes which are typical of "ordinary" zones: stabbings and homicides. Such things do happen, but extremely rarely, and they are deemed "extraordinary incidents." There is no hierarchy which demeans human dignity, such as "demeaned," "reduced," etc.

In short, it seems to a free person who crosses the threshold of this corrective-labor colony that he has encountered an artificially modeled Kingdom of the Law, one which, to be sure, is bounded by a concrete wall. Colony No 13 is a Great Paradox against the background of completely different rules of the "game." For, of course, there beyond the walls is a state not based on the rule of law—one which has engendered corrupted crime, bribe-taking, and violence in all its sinister forms....

When you take a look at the case histories of those persons who are serving time in Colony No 13, you become convinced of the following: No matter what they were in their past lives—generals or rank-and-file staffers—a certain Common Fate crystallizes around them, a figurative expression used by the writer Aksyonov to designate such social phenomena.

...In a certain kray G.K. was Figure No. 1—the chairman of the party control commission. During the investigation he was in the common wards or cells of 12 prisons.

"In the first prison my cell-mates 'sentenced' me to death, but in order to keep their consciences clean (even in a prison people have their own laws), they sent secret documents to the outside for the purpose of finding out what sort of person I was. The following 'reference' came from the outside: G.K. always used to proceed justly. And so they did not bother me after that."

G.K. is a contradictory figure, but a typical one. Coexisting within him are an awareness of his past power ("I was able to appoint people and dismiss them: I could punish them or pardon them") and a sober self-appraisal ("I confessed my own guilt immediately"), from which he quickly breaks down into an emotional commentary ("I'm guilty, of course, but not at all of what I am charged with").

In his former everyday life as a high official G.K. could get in an airplane and race off to the city, where, according to his informers, a new-fledged procurator had "gotten burned" because of excessive haste and was covering his tracks by backdating dozens of criminal cases which he had "inherited" from his predecessors.

"Our brigade burst into the room before the ink had even dried on the printed materials. We immediately began to remove the evidence," G.K. reminisced.

He also told me about the practice of organizing receptions for high-level guests, many of whom hold posts to this very day. And about how his colleagues had to assess "tribute" on the directors of major enterprises, as well as the sums lavished on chic, grandiose dinners, sums which somehow were "written off."

Who would refuse the friendship of one of the foremost persons in the kray? G.K. imposed "tribute" on his "friends"...

"We have many bribe-takers serving time here," stated the director of the Nizhne-Tagil Colony. "Bribery is one of the most widespread crimes among former officials of the law-enforcement organs."

As a necessary course of action for a petitioner or anyone seeking a favor, bribery is also something engendered by our reality, by the actually existing, non-legal mutual relations under which a person's fate is utterly dependent upon the will or the whim of a specific representative of the regime in power.

Here is a specific instance of one such fate. A police captain received his first bribe—ridiculously small—amounting to 5 rubles, while he was still a rank-and-file patrolman. He became an officer, and for some illegally filled-out forms he was given a Rank 4. Then he was invited to a picnic where alcohol was served. Upon waking up in a field the next morning, the captain discovered 100 rubles in his pocket. And so matters proceeded on and on....

I ask to be understood correctly; I am not appealing for mercy to be shown to bribe-takers. I merely wish to say that the existence of a Criminal Code in our country does not yet guarantee an automatic building of human or humane relations in a state based on the rule of law. The norms "placed" in paragraphs and points are not yet laws, but a legislator's desire relative to what kinds of relations he would like to see between people. The colony, where "former staff associates" are serving time is a mirror which has concentrated within itself the "costs" of our state which is not based on the rule of law. In a country where the law never had a decisive force or power, where it was not a "sacred cow," the existence of corrective institutions for the "correctors" themselves is not surprising at all....

[passage omitted]

Approximately one-third of those serving time in the Nizhniy Tagil Colony were convicted of homicide, one-fifth—for rape. Child rape, then—the rape and homicide of a friend. The brutal killing of a friend—jumping on his chest and trampling him to death. I will not scare the reader with a further recital of the barbaric crimes committed by the "former staff associates." One thing is clear—and this is admitted by the staff members of Colony No 13: many of the "former staff associates" have had a hidden mental illness.

[passage omitted]

I do not wish to idealize Colony No 13. But people do change here, and it just could be that they will discover their "worthy aspects." I was told the story of a man who ranked second in the hierarchy of the procurator's office of a big city. He was caught stealing cigarettes. According to the criteria of an "ordinary" corrective-labor colony, stealing from a "comrade" is a most serious crime. But according to general human criteria, it would rank last. Another convict, who had "put in an order" of 1000 rubles on the outside, received merely a packet of tea and a handful of candy. There are no riots here, nor "zek" [concentration camp] traditions. But there is something

else that leads one to think of the appearance of a person's inherent "talents" under harsher conditions....

[passage omitt?d]

The building of a state based on the rule of law in our country has traditionally been "entrusted" to the appropriate ministry. It seems to me that this is insufficient. Public organizations and institutes which are not subordinate to departments should take upon themselves a significant portion of this problem. And could it be that, in time, a law will appear which will truly protect us? Then we will cease to be afraid of a person in a uniform, since we will be confident that the uniform is not a masquerade.



### Repressions in Moscow Party Organization

90UN2643A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 15 Aug 90 p 4

[Article by CPSU Moscow City Organization KRK [Control and Auditing Commission] Presidium Member V. Chistyakov and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Special Correspondent S. Vologzhanin: "Please Verify My Father's 'Case'...."]

[Text] As we all know, Stalinist repressions were everywhere. Naturally, they did not avoid Moscow and the capital Party organization. Industrial enterprises and Narkomats [People's Commissariats], institutions, educational and scientific institutions, shops and department stores, publishing houses and theaters—all were subjected to the "purge." Tens of thousands of Muscovites died in prison torture chambers and camps. Their good names have already been returned to many of them. The city Party organization's and our entire society's moral obligation is to restore justice with regard to the remaining.

Moscow Party Gorkom and Raykoms have accumulated quite a bit of experience in rehabilitating victims. However, this work has proceeded erratically and with great difficulty. The stereotypes of the past have still sufficed. One mention about a man's affiliation with the Trotskyites or a right-wing [group] resulted in embarrassment. While reinstating this man into the Party, they nevertheless recorded a break in Party service. As a rule, there was only one reason: "You were in a camp during this time." And they did not think about the fact that a communist was there through no fault of his own.

Last year, the CPSU Moscow City Organization Control and Auditing Commission reviewed, to a significant degree through letters and statements, 453 cases on Party rehabilitation of communists who had been groundlessly repressed in the past. Nearly 800 such cases are in the stage of preparation for review.

At times they talk about the expediency of the harsh measures that were employed in the past and about selectivity during the course of repressions: They say they condemned those who became bureaucratic, enriched themselves, or harmed the common cause and this also maintained order and discipline. Of course, there were such people. And nevertheless massive repressions were extended to everyone and to all social strata and, as the facts demonstrate, in the absolute majority [of cases] to quite innocent people.

A critical or careless remark or a word spoken in a fit of anger could serve as grounds for being penalized. The [following] expressions even now reflect the burden of the political brand-charge: "Counterrevolutionary," "anti-Soviet," "terrorist," etc. They were both condemned and expelled from the Party on these grounds. Yes and they were frequently not dismissed but they carried out a certain formal procedure that was imposed by the investigating organs. The Party membership card

was confiscated upon arrest. The slightest attempt to protect the arrested person was turned into persecution of bold spirits and an increase of the circle of repressed individuals.

Incidentally, personal matters did not exist at that time in the sense that we now understand them. At best there is only one decision for a communist expelled from the Party on political grounds. Nothing more. And this creates additional difficulties not so much essentially for review of the case as to obtain a more complete impression of his work and social activities, his businesslike and moral qualities. Relatives and dear ones of rehabilitated persons often insist on obtaining precisely this information about them.

The case of Andrey Dmitriyevich Vorobyev, a Northern Railroad Electrical Depot worker and a Party member, arose according to an ordinary, for that terrible time, report to the authorities that expanded into monstrous accusations. They accused him of participating in an anti-Soviet, Trotsky-Zinoviev organization, conducting Trotskyite propaganda among workers, committing sabotage, and destroying electric [powered] rolling stock.

What specifically corroborated these accusations? Absolutely nothing! They had no proof of Vorobyev's guilt. He himself, both during the investigation and at the trial, firmly and decisively refuted the charges brought, stated that he had done nothing blameworthy, and that he had always acted according to his worker and Party conscience. Nevertheless, on June 2, 1937 the Military Judicial Board of the Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced him to 10 years imprisonment with disenfranchisement for five years and confiscation of property. However, the inquisitors did not stop at this. Four months later, Vorobyev, while in jail, was once again "tried." They attributed "dissemination of counterrevolutionary and libelous ideas," "violation of the prison routine," and "arguments with guards" to him. Facts? There were none. No materials whatsoever have been discovered that substantiate these serious new accusations. Those who carried out the severe and senselessly harsh treatment did not trouble themselves to search for evidence. Vorobyev was executed on October 26, 1937 in accordance with an Ivanov Oblast UNKVD [Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] Troyka decision....

They rehabilitated him in a civil procedure on September 22, 1956 without reviewing the issue on Party membership. They obviously waited for an official application from one of his dear ones. And the CPSU Moscow City Organization Control and Auditing Commission Presidium returned his unblemished Party honor to Andrey Dmitriyevich Vorobyev only when the application actually arrived.

And here is the tragic fate of another Moscow worker. Karl Yakovlevich Pavin, a Party member since 1926, worked as a blacksmith at Moscow's Provodnik Plant. In 1929, he was among 25,000 sent to Samarskiy Rayon of

Middle Volga Kray to organize kolkhozes. In 1936, he returned to his native plant. "But we were not to be together long," disclosed Tamara Karlovna, Pavin's daughter. "On March 5, 1937, my father was arrested directly at work. Three NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] agents arrived at our house and they carried out a search right up to slitting open the feather bed and pillows while turning everything upside down. We children observed all of this and naturally failed to realize what was occurring. Father, with his inherent optimism, told Mama: 'Do not worry, this is some sort of misunderstanding, they will look into it, and I will return soon.' But he was not destined to return...."

K.Ya. Pavin was accused of counterrevolutionary Trotskyite activities. An August 8, 1937 USSR NKVD special session decision determined his punishment to be five years of corrective labor work. He was sent to a Far East camp to serve his sentence. A Dalstroy UNKVD Troyka made his punishment more severe and he was executed on April 7, 1938.

Both unjust decisions with regard to him were reversed and cases against him were terminated for lack of a corpus delicti in his activities (so we also want to add to this—and for the absence of a crime). His rank as a Party member was also returned to him in October 1989.

And here is yet another name. In February 1938, Moscow Poligrafrud Artel [Cooperative] Worker Aleksey Terentyevich Starkov was arrested and soon executed based on the accusation of membership in an illegal counterrevolutionary socialist-revolutionary [eserovskiy] organization. What did careful study of archive materials show? A.T. Starkov, a social revolutionary since 1905, actively participated in the liberation movement. The Tsarist Okhranka [Secret Political Police Department] repeatedly arrested and held him in Tula Jail for dissemination of illegal literature. In December 1907, he was sentenced to four years at hard labor for participation in freeing political prisoners. After serving his sentence, he was sent into exile in Transbaykal Oblast. He joined the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks] there in 1919. During the civil war, he participated in the partisan movement against Kolchak. He returned to Tula in 1921. He lived and worked in Moscow since 1930. He enjoyed prestige and respect among his comrades. He faithfully served the Party

cause. But participation in a socialist-revolutionary organization? Nothing of the sort. No information or data whatsoever exists in this regard. Now he has been totally rehabilitated as a citizen and communist.

Such "cases" also arose with regard to technical workers, typists, house maids, and pensioners.... According to the USSR NKVD and the USSR Procurator's Office Commission (Beriya and Vyshinskiy headed it), Kremlin Medical and Sanitary Administration Senior Nurse Zinaida Nikolayevna Mayevskaya was executed on December 20, 1937. Just this decision alone was preserved in the case files. It noted that Z.N. Mayevskaya "conducted counterrevolutionary espionage activities." And not a line in corroboration of these charges.

Sometimes you hear: Are we not dramatizing the repressions? Yes and generally—are we justified in stirring up what is past and forgotten?.. No, it is impossible to forget what occurred during the Stalinist years. You have to come into contact with just one human document and you understand that someone else's hurt becomes your own. We who have become acquainted with the case of Andrey Dmitriyevich Vorobyev and with the statement of his daughter Inna Andreyevna Smyglinaya have not experienced anything like it. Having appealed to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for additional study of materials associated with the repressions that occurred during the 1930-1940's and the beginning of the 1950's, she wrote: "Request you verify and review my father's 'case' and restore his good name. I want his grandsons and great grandsons to know that he was an honest and devoted patriot of our Homeland."

Letters, or more correctly, confessions of the innocent victims at that time, their dear ones, children, and grandchildren, and numerous official documents are an integral part of the people's historical memory. They, like the sound of a bell, ring out in the hearts and minds of people and evoke a feeling of compassion. And they appeal for penitence. It is impossible to forget the arbitrariness and violence.

It is difficult to reassess the socio-political and moral significance of the work that Party, State, law enforcement organs, and the entire society are conducting to restore historical truth and justice. We should not spare strength or resources for the sake of total rehabilitation of all innocent victims in the past and to perpetuate their memory.

**New Greens' Party in Leningrad**

90UN2717A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 15 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Who Are the Greens?"]

[Text] As soon as the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies had changed Article 6 of the country's Constitution, a new party, the Greens' Party, was registered at a meeting of the city's Moskovskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee.

Its charter states that it is a voluntary public organization that carries out actions aimed at resolving vitally important questions of protecting and restoring nature, creating a favorable habitat, defending peace, and developing and spreading knowledge of ecology.

Today the Greens' Party of the city on the Neva numbers about 300 people. They are workers and students, engineers, scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia, retirees, and deputies to the Leningrad City Soviet and rayon soviets. They work in various sections of the party. They include a group for combating the radiation hazard, an environmental inspection unit, and a group concerned with protected natural territories. There is an active committee for combating ecological crimes. The party is establishing close ties with Greens from abroad, who are generously sharing their experience in environmental-protection activities with the Leningraders.

In the photograph: During an environmental-protection raid, Greens' Party members Mikhail Edvardovich Drozdov, senior scientific associate with the Anpo Scientific and Technological Cooperative; Valentin Aleksandrovich Panov (center), cochairman of the Greens' Party and people's deputy to the Leningrad City Soviet; and Grigoriy Nikolayevich Vasilyev (at the right), scientific associate at Leningrad State University, discovered an open sewer draining into the Neva River from the oblast infectious disease hospital in the area of the settlement of Ust-Izhor.

**Kazakh Readers Support Siberian River Diversion**

90US1191B Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN  
in Kazakh, 29 Mar 90 p 4

[Letters signed by Ye. Aymbekov, member of the CP since 1960, administration chief, T. Ismaylov, Kazakh SSR distinguished hydro-technician, B. Bayqosqarov, party veteran, M. Pirimbetov, irrigation official, labor veteran, V. Polkanov, deputy director of a chief administration, land reclamer, U. Zhiyenbayev, irrigation enterprise official, Kh.T. Kim, administration chief, irrigation enterprise official, Kho Syn Cher, deputy director of a chief administration, hydro-technician, L.A. Aksinenko, irrigation enterprise official, M. Oserbayev, irrigation enterprise official, O. Satayev, irrigation enterprise official, and Q. Bisenov, irrigation enterprise official, and research worker M. Orazbayev: "There

Is No Other Way, Siberian Waters Must Be Turned South." For original articles, see JPRS Report SOVIET UNION; POLITICAL AFFAIRS of 1 May 90 (JPRS-UPA-90-023), pp 67-70]

[Text]

**We Support and Encourage the Proposal**

Dear Editors! On 12 March of this year you published, under the rubric "Fate of the Aral, Fate of Man," an article by R. Bektibayev entitled: "There is No Other Way, Siberian Waters Must Be Turned South." In response to this article, we, a group of specialists and labor veterans of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Irrigation, make known our own thoughts and views.

It is well known that we have read in central newspapers such as Pravda and Izvestiya during the last three-four years a number of critical articles (S. Zalybin and other scientists and writers) about irrigation. We have seen that, since the CPSU May, 1966 Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU, some work has been done in irrigation and complex projects have been built. Leaving aside the errors which have been made within the entire Soviet Union in the context of such efforts, there are not a few deficiencies in our republic. Work was carried out only to orders coming from above. There is persuasive evidence of this. It would not be difficult to provide full proof of this now.

All of the examples offered in the article are correct. In truth, the future fates of hundreds of thousands of persons living in the Aral region have been greatly affected. If swift measures are not taken, we may be too late.

If we temporarily halt development of lands planned to irrigate the basin of the Syr-Dariya and Amu-Dariya rivers flowing into the Aral, and spend the financing on turning Siberian water south into the Aral, we would be making the correct decision. In taking this position, we aware that we will not gain a great deal of product (the product from enterprises will drop by one-third) under a system whereby the agricultural enterprises of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan taking water from the two rivers are subject to one uniform plan.

We express our satisfaction with the publication of the article, "There Is No Other Way, the Siberian Rivers Must Be Turned South," and demand that the problems discussed there be brought to the attention to the appropriate authorities.

**Let Us Consider the Question, My Kinsmen**

During a spring some thirty years ago, people in Kzyl-Orda said, disturbed: "The Dariya has begun to overflow its banks, there is danger that the city will be flooded." They are quiet now. Leaving entirely aside the question of the Syr-Dariya flooding, a child can now cross it from side to side. But one cannot cross the Dariyas waters, go



bathing in them, catch fish in them or drink them. You will become ill. A fate such as this has befallen the Syr-Dariya.

We have witnessed the perishing of the two great rivers of Central Asia, once called the Zoyqyn and Soyqyn, once the cradle of one of the most ancient civilizations in human history, and of the Aral, fed by the two rivers, due to our blindness. When the water of the rivers became obstructed, it was not as if we did not know the Aral was retreating. We knew it. But we then planned to prevent Aral waters from draining by turning the waters of the northern rivers south. However, we have not turned the water of the northern rivers south and made them flow into the Aral. It is a matter of "pie in the sky."

Our abuse of the natural environment has not been without result. Trampling the words of our ancestors that it is "all a matter of water" under foot, we reap the dry clay of our forgetfulness. At present infant death in the Aral region is 4-5 times higher than average Union figures (nearly a hundred of every thousand children die before reaching the age of one). Mothers cannot nurse their newly born infants. The reason is that the mother's milk has gone bad. What punishment is there greater than this. All the people have heard the words of Qaraqalpaq writer T. Qayypbergenov at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. There is no need to add anything to them. The new thing since then is that the Aral Sea has withdrawn farther, has dried up and divided into two parts.

There are resolutions about Karakalpakistan, about Kzyl-Orda Oblast. There is a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution about the Aral Sea Region, but in spite of this the level of the sea continues to drop, and the salt dust is blown up by the wind from the former sea bed by the ton to poison the entire region. There is only one real way to halt this disaster: return the waters of the Aral once again to it completely. But due to our apathy, there is no likelihood that anything is now going to be done.

My suggestion is this: The republic government should declare the Aral region an area of ecological disaster and, in accordance with this, undertake measures to improve the conditions of the people. For this purpose, through a state commission on the Aral on behalf various republic ministries and authorities, various measures must be undertaken to save the people of Kzyl-Orda Oblast from disaster. There is no need to go into what measures are needed. The experts know what needs to be done. There is a second side of the question I wish to discuss. This is devoting attention to the organized evacuation of those living in the area of ecological disaster (Kzyl-Orda Oblast and Karakalpakistan) to Northern Kazakhstan, Kokshetav, Pavlodar, Eastern Kazakhstan, Kustanay, Tselinograd, Karaganda and Dzhezkazghan Oblasts.

I have my own reasons for making such a suggestion. First of all, labor resources in Kzyl-Orda Oblast and in Karakalpakistan are substantial but there is a shortage of

employment. Children are numerous and there are too few places for them in kindergarten and in schools. There is a great deal of disease but medical assistance is inadequate, while housing and service to the people are poor. There is a shortage of drinking water. For example, according to information for 1986, there are only 63 places in schools for every 100 students in Kzyl-Orda Oblast, but the figure is double, 126 places, in the schools of Kustanay Oblast. Three years ago, a total of only 230 students studied in the 640 place Lavrov School of Volodar Rayon of Kokshetav Oblast. The kindergarten problem is similar. Medical assistance and social services are considerably better in the Virgin Lands sovkhoses than in Kzyl-Orda Oblast or Karakalpakistan. The land is green and has superior drinking water.

Secondly, local party, soviet and other social units in the above-mentioned oblasts of Kazakhstan have acquired considerable competence, dating back to the time when the Virgin Lands were mastered, in receiving those coming from outside, and in finding places for them. In addition, the housing situation in those areas has eased in recent times. In addition to the completion of the republic "Housing-91" Program, many of our German kinsmen are moving to Germany. They have no quarrel with we Kazakhs; they are leaving because conditions in Germany (it is no secret) are much better than here. They are leaving behind them empty work posts. However, it seems inconvenient to bring in others to replace them.

Thirdly, if a portion of the population of the Aral region moves to the Virgin Lands oblasts, it will make it easier to improve the lives of those remaining.

Fourthly, this will do something for developing the local nationality language. It is well known that those living in the Aral region are primarily Kazakhs. If these Kazakhs combine with our kinsmen, scattered in the northern areas like grain, we hope that this will have a favorable influence upon the development of Kazakh as an official language.

To be sure, I have no right to speak in the name of the people of the Aral region. I am expressing my own views only. Since perspectives are varied in the present era of glasnost, I also seek to share my views with others.

A financing of at least 30 billion rubles will be needed to restore the ecology and public health conditions of the Aral region. Where are we going to find this money? While we are trying to find this money, are we not turning the Aral in the meantime into a salt marsh?

Let us consider the question, my kinsmen!

#### **Declining Conditions Near Aral Sea Described**

*90US1211A Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN  
in Kazakh 31 Mar 90 pp 1,3; 3 Apr 90 pp 1,3*

[Articles by Zhumabek Kenzhalin: "Fate of a People Looking Fearfully towards the Future"]

[Text]

"The fate of the Aral is the fate of man;" "the Aral region, a region of disaster;" "let us say farewell to the Aral;" "the Aral is near death." Appearing together with the spirit of glasnost which, like an April breeze, has brought warmth into our souls, and has broken up the ideological ice floe accumulated over so many years, these conceptions, which have shaken your spiritual world, have begun to fortify themselves in our linguistic stock. Over a more or less four or five year period, several resolutions have been made, and from time to time intense meetings have been held to prevent the Aral disaster, which has resulted in an explosion of social thought and become a common topic of conversation. Points of view have become manifold and, in any case, proposals to save the Aral have come from the oblast, republic and all-union levels, and the problem has now become a world problem. Thus the death of the Aral, hovering like a black cloud of grief about the heads of fraternal Kazakhs, Qazaqs and Uzbeks, has become something more than a regional problem, and has become a concern of science. All of this is fact known by the entire world.

As the issue has become recognized, the mass media have placed particular emphasis on the problem and have actively striven to get to the bottom of the condition and needs of the area suffering from this grief. Reports based upon serious examination of the facts, and articles of writers on all kinds of questions have been published in the pages of newspapers and magazines. A social committee of those eager to gallop forth to save the Aral has been formed, and questions have been posed to ministries and active organizations connected with the matter. All this is, to be sure, wonderful. The reason is that, in addition to all the uproar, faith in the tomorrow, in the future of their society, is being engendered in the hearts of the people living in the Aral region.

But most recently, this breath, this ray of hope in the hearts of a people fearful about the future has begun to recede more and more. It seems as if the voice of the Social Committee to Protect the Aral Sea and Lake Balkhash, once raised so loudly, has weakened. Our periodicals are unable to write in detail about the question, as they once were, and there are reasons why the press has been unable to get to the root of the suffering of the disaster region. If they write about the topic, it has been observed, they merely join the refrain of lamenting about the proposals of the moment, or get involved in spreading propaganda. The thought crosses our minds that perhaps the decisions once made are now gathering dust on the shelves of pompous officials. This is because

the number of citizens who make a real effort to understand the key issues involved is very few. And for those few in the know to attempt to satisfy the broad masses is difficult indeed.

Thus, the editors of this paper, thinking over these circumstances, thought it proper to bring social conditions in Aral Rayon, which is located in the area of the disaster, under the regular observation of SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN. Thereby, the critical problems of this region will find continual publication in the pages of the republic's senior paper.

#### Collective Reporter of TOLQYN and SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN

It is a good beginning that SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, the republic's senior paper, has taken the social problems of the Aral region under its care, its continual supervision. As a result, one would indeed expect that the needs of this area will be written about systematically and the various questions considered knowledgeably. This is what we need! So said Seyilbek Shaikhmanov, oblast Soviet chairman, oblast party committee first secretary, leaving the question rest at that. He quickly looked at us with a face which seemed to ask how did we propose to accomplish our most complicated task. Understanding his unspoken question, we reported to him about a special decision of the editorial council of our paper:

—Indeed, we said to the point that we planned to rely in our efforts on TOLQYN, the rayon newspaper.

...Thus, not long after we moved our location to the offices of the paper TOLQYN, organ of the Aral Rayon Party Committee and the rayon soviet of people's deputies. It was a real rayon paper editorial office. You can see immediately that the narrow quarters are not up to the measure of the desires of our journalistic kinsmen there. Rushing about, they were very pleased that their guests had come from Alma-Ata just to see them.

—This is a very weighty assignment for us, but it is an honorable and happy task,—said Saghitzhan Yermaghanbetov, the editor of the paper. We will do whatever we can to help. This is because the subject, all in all, will involve our homeland, the fate of our nation.

The editor spoke the truth. The workers in his editorial office were a very poor lot. They too had witnessed the disastrous circumstances inflicted upon the Aral. They were breathing the air breathed by the rest of their people, and were breathing it in along with the very life of the people. Be that as it may, it is entirely appropriate that we make the fate of the paper TOLQYN a key subject of our inquiry. If SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN proclaims this paper its collective reporter, and uses it to observe the social conditions of the Aral region, I think that it would be proper to take advantage of the opportunity to discuss the problem of TOLQYN itself, which

must, in association with SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, investigate local problems and research them in detail.

TOLQYN, which celebrated its sixtieth anniversary this year, has become in the region a school for writers to sharpen their skills, advanced training. However, if the paper's editors take a grudging view of life today, we know that the creative workers of the rayon paper, which began publication under the names EKPINDI BALYQSHI [Leading Fisherman] and SOTSIALISTIK ARAL, are telling the story of the selfless labors of the people of their area living under conditions of ecological catastrophe. Problems concerning Aral people are often raised in the pages of the paper and offered to the considerations of the broad reading public.

It is wonderful that, in accordance with the process of perestroika in our society, the workers of the paper are making known the desires of the people of the Aral. Proof of this is the fact that new kinds of rubrics in accord with the spirit of the times are finding a regular place in the pages of the paper, which also continues to carry out public opinion surveying. If we say that the ecological danger of the Aral region is being discussed on a world-wide basis, TOLQYN is doing everything in its capacity to make its own contributions to the question.

Through rubrics such as "Fate of the Aral, Fate of Man," "Thoughts, Views, Suggestions," "On the Problems of the Day," "See the Village, Know the Man," the paper reports richly about the accumulation of circumstances from which the people of the region are suffering.

We observe new methods in their work of TOLQYN editors with authors, and with local reporters. Various reporters' stations are operating within the Rayon. They are controlled by highly experienced individuals, who know how to write. For example, the reporters' station in the "Aralybprom" Production Union is controlled by Aldanysh Qalyulov, war and labor veteran, the reporters' station in the rayon consumer services combine by labor veteran S. Baymaghambetov and that in Seksewil Station by Zh. Zholdasov. To increase the competence of rural reporters, TOLQYN editors have organized a two year social reporters school. More than thirty workers and masters of other specialties are participating and are presently considered TOLQYN regular authors.

It must be mentioned here that deputy editor Omirbek Tolepov, responsible secretary Qwanyshbay Muqashev, division chiefs Kenges Omirzaqov and Shymkentbay Zhylmaghambetov, radio report producer Amangeldi Otkelbayev, reporters Zhangabay Kemalov, Nursewle Kenzhebayaeva, and photographer Zhmakhmet Yesenzholov are each doing everything thing they can to depict life under conditions of ecological disaster. It may be mentioned that whereas the paper issued 4500 copies in

1965 its present circulation is 9,000. This small achievement is an indication of the effort the editorial creative apparatus to somehow make TOLQYN a favorite publication of many.

There is one central and clear truth: no matter how much effort there is, it will achieve creative goals only as a consequence of careful supervision. For this reason, we think it our duty to discuss questions avoided by TOLQYN, become the collective reporter of SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN. The present material-technical base of TOLQYN is inadequate. In our meetings with the editorial creative apparatus, a great many problems were discussed which had to be solved immediately. It should be bourn in mind that many of the difficulties from which TOLQYN is suffering are common to other rayon and city papers of our republic. We looked at the problem in detail in the article "what is the state of rayon papers?" in the 27 March issue of SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN. However, bearing in mind the peculiarities of TOLQYN, which operates under conditions of ecological disaster, we have thought it proper to write up the the problems which we noted down in our notebooks for the attention of the appropriate organizations and ministries. We say again, it will be necessary to decide in the near future the question of not putting off until tomorrow the care which will have to be devoted to the future of TOLQYN. This is the gist of the problem.

For the attention of the Aral Rayon Party Committee and the rayon soviet of peoples deputies:

TOLQYN [wave] is certainly a "wave" as a press. Its present offices are inadequate. Two or three workers work in one room and this must severely limit their creative possibilities. The printing press, on the other hand, is located in a corner of the city, situated in the old office of the former "Priaral" Sovkhoz. There heating is poor in the winter months. For this reason the quality of printed material produced is poor. Every day journalists move back and forth between this point and that, between the editorial office and the printing press. The question arises that after all their time has been wasted shuttling back and forth who is involved in exacting creative work, or with problems connected with the day to day operations of the paper. This is the reason why needed materials are not delivered on time and typographical errors occur frequently. It would be suitable if editorial office and printing plant were to be brought under essentially the same roof, and located in facilities equipped according to the needs of the day. TOLQYN is in need of this kind of care from rayon authorities. Considerable problems are created for editorial workers, and for the journalists who must make a contribution to the prosperity of the region, due to inability to speak to the people here.

For the attention of the Kazakh SSR State Committee on the Press:

Considerable renovation is needed not only of the offices of TOLQYN, but also of the polygraphic base of its



printing plant. The equipment printing the paper is totally obsolete and dilapidated. Spare parts for it can no longer be found. There are considerable difficulties in the operations of the paper due to lack of a Kazakh typewriter. Everyone has their problems. But it is shameful to speak about EGA [expansion unknown] equipment, producing a cliché. The time has long come to replace this equipment which was installed 15 years ago.

The inhabited portions of the rayon are located in a wilderness. For example, Qulandy Division is 300 versts from Aral City. Atanshi and Zhingisdequm Divisions are 240 versts away. Due to shortage of transport, the paper's editorial office experiences considerable difficulty in sending off its reporters to assignments in these areas. All of these things are matters which must be resolved swiftly, without delay.

For the attention of the Kazakhstan Journalists' Union:

Up until the present, TOLQYN has been unable to obtain material or, if not, moral support from the Journalists Union. The workers of the rayon paper, like other persons living in the Aral region, are suffering from the damage done by ecological disaster. This is something to take into consideration. The journalists are unable to use their annual vacations properly and go to the appropriate recuperation centers. This is because there is no one who, taking their situation into consideration, sends them off to spas and sanatoriums, or shows any concern for them. And nothing need be said whatever about their trips as tourists.

For the attention of the Kazakhstan Consumers Union Administration:

The journalists of TOLQYN must be supplied with professional equipment so vitally needed today. Dictaphones and cameras cannot be obtained in that area. It is possible that the view will be taken that "such equipment must, sir, be reserved above all for workers on republic newspapers." That is to be sure correct. However, we must take the special situation of Aral journalists into consideration. These days people are flowing into the upper reaches of the Aral from all four corners of the world. That is, they are coming from foreign countries, and from every part of the Soviet Union. This being so, it would be proper for local journalists to have the necessary equipment for them be on the same level as those coming in from outside, due to their common concerns with them.

As you can see, honored reader, we are not discussing the resolutions which have from time to time been enacted regarding rayon newspapers, and are not complaining about them. This is not our task. We have focused attention on practical aspects of specific situations, and upon questions which must be resolved without delay.

We have called our article: "Fate of a People Looking Fearfully towards Tomorrow." Among those people looking fearfully towards tomorrow are journalists who

cannot endure the difficulty and suffer various afflictions. They too are wondering fearfully about when the major problems also affecting their fates are going to be resolved. They are right in doing so.

### Just Twelve Years

The "Aralsol" Combine is some 15 versts from the city. Our fellow-traveller Saghitzhan Yermaghanbetov was one of the people with considerable knowledge about all aspects of the region. He has his eyes open, and is very down to earth. As we travelled from the city to the combine, forgetting about the sadness of the Aral of a time, he recalled with nostalgia the impressions left behind over the years, and directed the conversation towards the distant past. As we approached the combine settlement, our conversation became more relaxed and we were able to smile at one another, dispelling Saghitzhan's brief gloom.

...The meeting at the office did not last long. After a brief encounter, we turned towards the combine's farm and went along exploring its various parts. Chief director K. Zhaqsybayev spoke about supplying inhabitants with shelter, and discussed other social needs in detail:

—First of all—the problem is unemployment, unemployment like a disease eating our souls,—he said, full of sadness, taking advantage of the situation like a hawk preening itself, and fixing his eyes on a speck in the distance.

There were reasons why the words of the combine director were so completely angry when they dwelt on the future of this industry, even the future of the entire village, why they were so full of helpless frustration. These days, the total number of inhabitants in Aralsulphate settlement exceeds 4,000. However, if elderly pensioners and the school age population is excluded, about 2,000 are working age. At present only some 1,100 of those 2,000 are engaged in productive work.

—While unemployment is one problem, I am also concerned when I think about the future of the people here as a whole. A short time ago, specialists of the "BNIIzol" Scientific Research Institute located in our rayon center said that "Aralsol," the industry of this settlement, has only 12 years of life remaining. We in fact receive most of our raw materials from Zhaqsykol. Resources of salt for excavation there will last just 12 years. That is the problem...—said the chief director, carefully choosing his words.

"Kicking a person when he is down," as they say, it seems as if the industry will be required to employ advanced technology. This seems reasonable. It is proper that as time passes the advances of science and technology should be introduced into production. However, in more specific terms, such advances would not seem so beneficial for the inhabitants of this area with its rampant unemployment. Another 100-120 persons will be thrown out of work when a M-1-ARZH automatic line for bagging salt in plastic bags is put into operation.

Judging from last year's figures, the amount of monthly wage funds paid to workers in the industry considerably exceeded plan amounts. This is, indeed, something which has arisen from our hopelessness in finding work for people. As a result the industry now has a debt of 108,000 rubles. This is a consequence of "being between a rock and a hard place."

What is going to happen now? The combine has managers, the settlement soviet has members. They have written a letter stating the need to convert the combine to produce other products. There is nothing we have not done. But nothing has been achieved. According to what the comrades has said, we should completely rebuild the combine to establish industries based on this combine producing soap, or making China, or, if not those products, containers. We have listened to suggestions about the possibility of opening plants producing consumer goods, branches of large, well-established industries, without having a large, independent combine here.

"For time to time there has been much grieving about the need to prevent this national disaster from persons seeing for themselves conditions of the Aral region. But no one had any suggestions then about what to do. Our industry has nearly been destroyed. Tomorrow the salt will run out. When we ask what to do now we are only offered slogans...Indeed, after the paint dries such propaganda is worthless." The inhabitants of the village speak bitterly in this way. They speak the truth. Since the problem was new to us, we could not be indifferent to it.

Since we are not sorry about the decision...

We were talking to rayon party committee secretary B. Aqpenbetov.

—It is so. Decisions made in Moscow have concrete achievements in mind. But many of the problems there are not conceived of properly since all-union ministries do not know what is going on. But as for ourselves? Here I am speaking about our neighbors, neighboring oblasts, we are sorry that they do not really understand the problem.—He said. So saying the secretary handed us a piece of paper.

—Here, read this. Everything is completely clear.—He said. We think it proper, for the understanding of the reader, to reproduce the portions of the document of interest to us.

Excerpts [in Russian]

From the record of the 25 November, 1988 session of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, No 28-XIV.

XIV. On the carrying out of Resolution No 1100 of the Central Committee CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers from 19 September, 1988: "On measures for Fundamental Improvement of Economic and Public Health Conditions in the Oblasts and Rayons of the Aral

Sea, for Increased Effectiveness of Utilization and Strengthened Protection of Water and Land Resources in its Basin."

1 ... ..

2. The executive committees of Alma-Ata, Kokshetav, Kustanay, Chimkent oblasts and the Executive Committee of Alma-Ata City are to consider the request of the Kzyl-Orda Oblast Party Committee, and of the Oblast Executive Committee to establish a sponsorship of the populated points and enterprises of Aral Rayon of Kzyl-Orda Oblast, with the aim of offering assistance in their development and in the improvement of ecological and public health conditions.

3 ... ..

N. Nazarbayev, chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers

Examining this document, the knowledgeable reader must necessarily understand on his own the essences of many questions.

—This is something good. But even if this is true, how can the oblasts pay attention to questions raised in the document—we said.

—It need not be mentioned that throughout the last few years, we have been wearing out the doors of organizations in the capital. During one such expedition, we obtained a copy of this document from the Alma-Ata City Executive Committee. A group of citizens headed by Zamanbek Qalabayuly Nurqadilov, studying the question, have abruptly made known their view that they consider help offered so far to be useless. They are living up to their obligations as officials, it would seem. The Alma-Ata City Executive committee has deposited 500,000 rubles in cash to account No 14251 opened in Aral City. Individuals of the Alma-Ata Oblast Executive committee are also not remaining apart from efforts for the common interest. They have deposited 120,000 rubles in the same account. Our colleagues in Chimkent, it seems, were able to rustle up some unexpected building materials during the summer of last year... We have heard nothing to date whatever from Kokshetav and Kustanay Oblasts, named in the document quoted above. Looking at their own circumstances, we hold not hold out a hand to them. It unfortunate...

We thought the complaint of the rayon party committee to be a proper one. It is indeed sad that we have paid little attention to one another with the pronouncements that the Aral is in danger, and have been indecisive when it has come to specific action. Now we find ourselves faced with major problems.

—To be sure, voluntary work days are now being organized here and there to help the Aral, and the proper beginnings have been made for a television marathon. However, we must say that all of this is little more than a closing of the barn door after the horse has fled.

It is also the case that after such measures creating hope, efforts diminish. We are well aware that "the end of the river disappears in the sand," the party secretary snapped.—Resolutions have continued to be made intended to be beneficial, useful to us, but we are disturbed that the appropriate authorities do not put these resolutions into practice.

We could add little to this view of the rayon party committee secretary.

#### Ecological Illness at the Door

Pressing on, we went plopping down the street. One has to avoid stepping on the dung and garbage accumulated on the street during the winter. This stink called "qolqang" makes the eyes water. One feels nausea.

—How did we get into this fix?

—We usually assign all the blame for problems here to the retreat of the sea. But who is responsible for this?

One is in error if the view is taken that the withdrawal of the Aral is the sole reason for ecological problems in the areas above the sea. There is no doubt that the reason that infectious disease is spreading in the area is also because the required public health measures have not been carried out properly in the cities. Who can guarantee that various contagions will not spread from the garbage and dung heaped mountain high, as always.

When these problems were discussed in the rayon party committee, the comrades made known their attitudes in saying: "We sought to carry out various measures, but they had no results. We will try again." We are far from pointing the finger at the rayon party committee, saying that they are not keeping the streets in good order. However, is it not the city soviet executive committee and its body of deputies which are to deal with these problems? There is no lack of advanced methods for improving street cleanliness, they exist. They should now how to solve the problem very successfully in a creative manner. We must not forget that ecology begins in front of our own doors.

#### Wiping the Mouth with Bitter Herbs

Some time has passed since we have begun our concern with the Aral. During that time resolutions have been made. However, the broad masses of the people have doubts about how they are being carried out. They are not taking into consideration the people of this area who

breathe the air and drink the water, said the chief of the rayon party committee ideology division, A. Aweyzov.

As I have visited rayon enterprises during the last few years, I have seen that the people of the Aral have been carrying out important measures with their own resources. For example, last year all industrial establishments in the rayon successfully achieved their production goals and delivered 1,760,000 rubles of extra product to the state. The pace of housing construction has also gone up considerably. In accordance with the "Housing-91" Program, nearly 130 families in the rayon have so far been moved into new housing. In recent years special attention has been devoted to the social sector. Last year a 175-bed hospital capable of serving 200 persons at a time was put into operation at the rayon center, a 90-place rest home at the Seksewil Locomotive Depo, and two kindergarten with places for 280. Supplementary construction on No. 220 Middle school has been completed and a pioneer camp called "Aral" has been created near Lake Qambash.

However, in view of present conditions, we cannot rest on the laurels of such positive changes. Measures to meet the needs of the people of the Aral area have been ineffectual. Because of this, the rayon party committee has drawn up complex measures for the improvement of the ecological and social conditions of Aral Rayon, and have made known to the appropriate ministries and authorities what kinds of specific help will be needed. In particular, there is no doubt that drying up the salt lakes at the head of the Aral, renovation of city sewage piping, laying down of new water and heating pipes, and making the city green, will require considerable effort. To this end there is need for the establishment of an "Aralvodstroy" Construction trust, for the supply of rayon people with special food, for proclaiming the Aral region a zone of ecological disaster, to examine, on a government basis, the question of assigning blame to the appropriate ministries and authorities which allowed the region to get into the condition that it is in.

At the beginning of this article, we said that SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN was putting social conditions of the Aral region under its continuous supervision. This being the case, the very major problems mentioned above will be written about in the future in the pages of the paper, and there will be specific investigation of ways to solve them. The reason is that the fate of a people fearful for the future requires this type of view taken of the problem. To accomplish this, the broad masses must be made aware of these matters. Only then will understanding of the Aral begin.



# Religious Registrations Under Perestroika Viewed

90UN2592A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY  
in Russian No 32, 11-17 Aug 90 p 8

[Untitled article by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Gradov]

[Text] How many churches and monasteries were transferred to churches in recent times?

M. Kopkov, Pskov

Our correspondent D. Gradov asked M. Ivogin, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs, to answer this question.

During the years of perestroika, 5,500 parishes of various religious confessions were opened up. Of these, 4,100 parishes belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. The registration of new religious organizations, as a rule, involved putting at the organizations' disposal places of prayer, i.e., churches, mosques, synagogues, and so on.

At present 21 structures for the use as reconstructed monasteries have been given over to the church. Fourteen religious educational institutions have been opened and the quotas for students and operating religious seminars and academies have been expanded.

The public has advanced proposals to transfer the Uspensky Cathedral and some other churches located in the Kremlin and also the church of Vasily Blazheny to the Russian Orthodox Church.

These churches are not only buildings, representative of spirituality, but are architecturally and historically valuable monuments as well. Since they are the government's property, to decide the question of their use, let us say, in favor simply of the Russian Orthodox Church is something for which we are not prepared.

In the span of five years, 6,228 new religious associations have registered. The total sum of them as of today stands at 18,666, which is 1.5 times greater than in 1985.

## Religious Associations in the USSR

	The number of religious organizations as of:	
	1 January 1985	1 July 1990
In the entire USSR	12,438	18,666
Including:		
Russian Orthodox	6,806	11,118
Georgian Orthodox	51	296
Catholic	1,068	1,385
Lutheran	580	624
Armenian	33	56
Reform	86	96
Methodist	15	16
Old Believers	337	371

Muslim	392	1,103
Evangelical Christians—Baptists and Pentecostal	2,537	2,841
Jewish	91	106
Buddhist	2	12
Seventh Day Adventists	342	457
Molokan	44	49
Mennonites	53	54
Krishnas	—	8
Others	—	74

## Patriarch Views Church, State Relations

90UN2631A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 32, Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Aleksy the Second, the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and all of Rus, by PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK correspondents V. Alekseyev and V. Yurteyev: "Collaboration Without Oversight: How the Interrelations Are Shaping Up Between the Church and State"]

[Text] OUR INFORMATION: The Patriarch of Moscow and of all of Rus, Aleksy the Second ([known] in the world as Aleksy Mikhaylovich Ridiger) was born 23 February 1929 in the city of Tallinn in the family of an Orthodox priest. After finishing secondary school, he continued his studies in the Leningrad Holy Seminary, afterwards in the spiritual academy, from which he graduated in 1953. In 1959 the rank of priest was conferred on him.

In March 1961 he took his monastic vows, and the rank of Bishop of Tallinn and Estonia was conferred on him at the end of the same year. Since 1964 he was an archbishop, and since 1968 the Metropolitan of Tallinn and Estonia. For a long time in that holy rank, he administered the Moscow Patriarchate and was a permanent member of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1986 he was designated the Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod, while at the same time continuing to administer the Tallinn and Estonian eparchies.

[He is] widely known for his ecumenical and secular activities: as a people's deputy of the USSR, a member of the governing council of the Soviet fund for peace, [a member] of the council of the society "Native land," [a member] of the social commission of the Soviet Committee in defense of peace associated with foreign religious circles, the vice-president of the Society of Soviet Friendship, and [a member of] the Conference of European Churches (in March 1987 he was chosen to be a representative of the presidium and an advisor to the committee of that Christian organization). In the evening of 7 and 8 June of this year, at the Pomestny Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church in the

Troitse-Sergiev Monastery (Zagorsk) on a ballot with several choices, among several candidates, the Metropolitan Aleksey was elected by a secret ballot the 15th patriarch in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church.

**His Holiness, the Patriarch of Moscow and all of Rus, Aleksey the Second answers the questions of the special correspondents of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK V. Alekseyev and V. Yurteyev.**

[Correspondents] Your Holiness, how do you evaluate the relations today between the church and state? What kind of "heritage" do you expect you will still need to repudiate as regards these relations?

[Aleksey] It is obvious to everyone that the church and state relations in the last few years have improved considerably. What is still more important, the social atmosphere around the church has significantly changed. It [the church] is no longer "unnoticed," but also there is a more symptomatic development; now various social movements, hoping to see the church as a factor in the spiritual and moral rebirth of the country, are turning their attention to it. All the same, we would be sinning against the truth, if we did not admit that the interrelations between the church and state are still far from ideal.

And here it is fitting to give an answer to your second question. The state should see the church as its main partner in those spheres, where they will have contact. If the government, striving to be lawful and democratic, hopes, that the church can fulfill its positive role in those processes, which have now seized society, then it should put an end to the [church's] insulting position, in which in conformity for decades and in practice, various church structures were placed (from the Holy Synod to the country parish community) while in contact with various government organs and their representatives; the latter saw themselves as virtually masters of the churches' fate, and the former were left in the role of patient suppliants. Here then is the "heritage" which it is necessary to repudiate first of all.

Despite the long work involved on preparing the legislative project, it turned out to be still too unfinished, and above all [unfinished] in its plan for complying with the Concluding document of the Vienna meeting of participants of the Helsinki Accords (January 1989). I will not analyze this project now in detail; it has been submitted for discussion to the general public. The Pomestny Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church has made a special statement concerning it, with which it has by means of the mass media informed the soviet public. I will only point out one essential weak point of the given project, both from the point of view of the Vienna document and of the juridical norms of existence for the church in a lawful state, which, by the way, is what the members in their speeches of the Pomestny Cathedral have been repeatedly doing not long ago. Yes, there is recognition of the juridical right of separate church societies (religious societies) and church institutions

(religious organizations) as subject's, [but] the project does not recognize such a right for the church as a whole. What can this turn into for the church with its traditional, non-hierarchical structure, which is what the Russian Orthodox Church is? For the former—the preservation of their humble, oppressed position in the face of various government organs in defense of its rights. And, for the latter—favorable, external conditions for various kinds of splits, which, as history bears witness, not only bodes ill for the church's inner life, but also in a rather clear way leads to social destabilization. In the meantime, that same Vienna document obligates its signers, the government participants "to preserve an individual's freedom of conscience and right to profess and practice religion"... specifically "to respect the religious rights of organizations... for self-administration in compliance with their non-hierarchical or institutional structure" (article 16).

For the societies of the Russian Orthodox Church (just as for the societies of other churches with traditional non-hierarchical structures) the legislative project in terms of this relation appears discriminatory, inasmuch as the very essence of faith which they preserve requires that the state recognizes them not as separate, let us allow even as a juridical subject, as individual units, but namely as a church in the form as it conceives itself to be complying to its traditions and statutes.

[Correspondents] Have the church representatives participated in the preparation of the legislative project, the law concerning the freedom of conscience? At what stage? What is the actual contribution made by church representatives in preparation of the document?

[Aleksey] Still last year the Holy Synod presented to the Council of Religious Affairs associated with the Council of Ministers of USSR their remarks addressed to that anonymous and "not public" project, which was later given to the government. Then prior to submitting the new variant of the legislative project of the USSR, the law "Concerning the Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations," a commission of the Council of Ministers of USSR listened to the remarks made about it, presented in the name of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church by the Bishop of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Kirill. Now when the project is passing through an article by article discussion in the committees and commissions of the Higher Council of USSR, the representatives of our church, just like those of other religious associations, are also drawn to work [on this legislation] in order to express their views on one or another proposal of this document. Regarding the matter of an actual contribution by the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church in preparation of the future law, it is still too early to talk about this: our main proposals, which originate from the very character of our church, as well as the character of a lawful government, still have not been taken into account by the legislators.

[Correspondents] To what extent in present conditions is the concept of the separation of the church and state being preserved? Is there any need for it to be reconsidered?

[Aleksy] The principle of the separation of church and state, just as the principle of the church-state symphony, is not something that appears as unchanging and instituted for ages. It is essentially the reflection of certain historical conditions in which the church and state existed. In practice, in contemporary democratic state, we will not find or almost will not come across a real difference in ecclesiastical life dependent on the fact that it is "governmental," or on the fact that it exists in countries in which the church is constitutionally separated from the state. That is why, I think, the issue should not be put in our country in the context of examining the principle of the separation of the church and state, but rather in the context of finally carrying out [this principal] consistently, freeing the inner life of the religious associations and societies from illegal "guardianship" of the various governmental organs and their representatives.

[Correspondents] In compliance with the separation of schools from the churches in our country there predominates a "secular" character of education of the people. A related fact is that today more often demands resound for separate religious educators to put a stop to the "atheistic obscurantism" in schools. What can you say regarding this subject?

[Aleksy] The principle of the freedom of conscience should assume that there is equality between believers and atheists on the issue of propagation of one's beliefs. [It assumes] a secular character of schools, and, by the way, this appears to be the case in a number of democratic governments that assume a neutral worldview be taught in the general education subjects. In the given case, talk should proceed about the fact that the teaching of atheism in educational institutions should not be universally obligatory, as it was up until this time, just as it should not be financed by the government. Related to this fact is also the proclamation of the principle of equality of believers and atheists, which, naturally, should come up so that the requests of the students and their parents that the fundamentals of the religious teachings could be taught in schools, but again these studies would not have a universally obligatory character and would not be subsidized by the government.

[Correspondents] In recent times the Russian Orthodox Church, as our entire society, did not manage to ward off separatist tendencies. As well known, let us say, in the Ukraine the process of the formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church is going on, which does not agree with the believers' heart-felt feelings in other areas. What are the reasons behind these processes?

[Aleksy] The separatist tendency in the Ukraine's ecclesiastical life is not something historically new. In our church we have come into conflict with them in the first

post-revolutionary years. And then, just like now, they were tied with political separatism, a course which was taken by specific social forces in the Ukraine. However, as in the past, so in the present, the split with the mother-church turned out to involve only a small part of the clergy and flock in the Ukraine.

[Correspondents] At the Pomestny Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1988, speakers voiced views expressing concern for the need of bringing into closer contact or even uniting with the parishes of the Russian Church abroad, or, as they called them earlier, "Karpovchans." Is such a merging possible in the foreseeable future?

[Aleksy] The issue at hand here should not concern the merging of the Russian Orthodox Church with the church groups that broke away from it still in the 20s, which are scattered today in five continents and number not less than 300,000 people, but rather should concern the reconciliation of the latter with their mother-church. So far as this is a fundamentally sad matter, it is for us above all else viewed as a division caused by political motives, that is, in that sphere in which each member of the church has a right to act freely. We have repeatedly, including on the jubilee of the Pomestny Cathedral in 1988, extended a hand to our brothers of the Russian Church abroad, a brotherly hand so that they would unite with us with [in the understanding that] that above all earthly politics stands—a eucharistic community. However, our calls have not found an appropriate response among the leadership of the Russian Church abroad, and in spring of this year, the situation was exacerbated by the fact that they brought here a real split to the territory of our country, when the Arch-hierarchic synod from abroad sanctioned the creation of their parishes on the canonical territory of the Moscow Patriarchate of the USSR. Of course, this will hardly lead to a serious destabilization of ecclesiastical life; however, every such division in the church is lamentable.

[Correspondents] The process of politicization is penetrating even to the nucleus of the church. An increasingly growing number of clerics and hierarchs are becoming politicians—people's deputies in councils on various levels. How does this accord with the principal that "the church stands outside of politics"?

[Aleksy] What applies to the principle that you have mentioned is that it should be remembered that in a sense the church as a corporation cannot find itself standing either on one side or the other in party interests, accepting as it does its members from representatives various political movements, only allowing that these people in their general activities do not do anything against the Gospel teachings or the norms of Christian morals.

Now as regards the activity of the clerics in the councils, in our country the participation of the clerics in the work of representative organs has a long tradition. In pre-Petrine Rus, the bishops and the representatives of the



clergy participated in the activities of the zemstvo councils, which, as well known, were the Russian government's highest legislative organs. I think, that the nomination and election of some bishops and clerics as people's deputies today in a certain sense is the rebirth of a past tradition given conditions during which society desires to see in its midst the exponents and defenders of its interests, those people, who by their representation are capable of upholding moral principles.

[Correspondents] In the country, parties and social movements are beginning to form, who by their names presume to count themselves as belonging to the church. Isn't this the birth of clericalism in USSR? What kind of positions on this issue is the Russian Orthodox Church leadership taking?

[Aleksy] To speak of the birth of clericalism in the USSR, to say the least, is naive. In pre-revolutionary Russia it did not exist as it did in its time in the Catholic Western Europe countries. As regards the formation of parties, which call themselves Christian, these are already organizations which are not ecclesiastical, but political. Such parties, as well known, have existed for many years in a number of democratic countries, and their names attest only to the fact that in their political platforms, above all else they are oriented by a Christian system of values, more often than not, even lacking an orientation to a specific Christian confession. We know that the rebirth of such countries, like Italy and West Germany, after the terrible night of Nazi totalitarianism, to a great degree occurred namely with the political leadership of the Christian-Democratic parties.

In our country we do not have our own Christian-Democratic traditions, though one of the leading idealogues of Christian democracy was the remarkable, Russian thinker and historian, Georgy Fedotov. Nonetheless, I do not see anything unnatural in the appearance in our country of a Christian party, which could make its contribution to the task of the rebirth of the Fatherland.

[Correspondents] How is your collaboration with the Council of Religious Affairs associated with the Council of Ministers of USSR going? What would you like to change in these relations?

[Aleksy] As our experience has shown and the practice of many other governments, there is an objective necessity for the existence of a special governmental organ, whose function is to assist in the administration of the difficult network of interrelations between the government and religious associations.

At this time we are entering into direct relations with government organs of authority at all levels: the Council of Ministers, the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], other ministries, and so on. In these conditions the mediational functions of the Council of Religious Affairs in our relations with the government departments is become superfluous. The church has gotten the opportunity to directly participate in working out in the Higher

Councils' legislative acts and regulate the proposals of religious associations and the government. The transfer to a market economy will at a certain stage make the mediational functions of the Council involved in the economic sphere superfluous. As long as this has not taken place, it is apparent that the Council of Religious Affairs should be preserved, limiting its mediational and representational functions to relations with government and economic departments and government enterprises, fully ruling out interference in the church's inner life and its rank and file activity.

As applies to the higher and the local councils' activities, the meaning of which and their resolution of questions of the interrelations of the government with religious associations will grow, for us here, clearly, it is necessary to work out an effective system of reciprocal actions. In any event, the formation of commissions concerning the issue of the freedom of conscience should take into account the main confessions' views. The official position of the confessions should be listened to in the discussion of those issues which touch on the position of religious associations in the Union and the republics.

#### **Ukrainian Autocephalous Church Synod Viewed**

90UN2588A Kiev SILSKI VISTI in Ukrainian  
28 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by Viktor Bondarenko, a candidate of the philosophical sciences: "The Ukrainian Autocephalous Church: A Commentary on the Most Recent Events"]

[Text] The religious-social movement for the establishment of a Ukrainian Autocephalous (independent in its administration) Orthodox Church (UAPTs) has become a real fact, one that has made a noticeable influence not only in the religious sphere in the republic's life, but also in the entire course of social-political events in Ukraine. Begun in February of 1989 by a group of activists, who established a committee for the rebirth of UAPTs, it has gone through several stages in its establishment, the last and most meaningful of which today has become the first All-Ukrainian Synod of UAPTs, which took place in Kiev on 5-6 June in 1990. The ecclesiastical forum of adherents to the idea of autocephalous orthodoxy in Ukraine, advanced and resolved a wide range of key issues, which are related to the formation of separate links in the ecclesiastical structure, the forms of ecclesiastical administration, and the place they are to have in the complex palette of the country's real and social-political life.

Not touching purely theological problems of the canonicity of the synod and the entire process of the establishment of UAPTs, it should be noted, that the idea itself of a complete independence for Orthodoxy in Ukraine found sympathy and considerable support among the clergy and laymen. The synod delegates demonstrated that such aspirations are held by adherents of Orthodoxy from various regions of the republic and [demonstrated] their decisiveness in attaining the advanced goal. What

has been said especially applies to Galicia, where the establishment of UAPTs has become an original sort of catalyzer in the rebirth of Greek-Catholicism, which has created here [Galicia] a threat of completely swallowing up Orthodoxy. Judging from the given information, which was presented in the speeches at the synod, the idea of an Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine today is supported by more than 500 parishes and close to 300 priests. The strongest position of UAPTs is in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopil Oblasts.

The synod's most important decision from our point of view, which belongs to the religious-ecclesiastical sphere of existence of UAPTs, is related to working out a model of ecclesiastical administration and the confirmation of a church hierarchy. This process began long before the ecclesiastical forum. Seven eparchies were established, at the head of which bishops took their place, who were consecrated by the chief hierarch of UAPTs, the archbishop of Lvov and Galicia-Volyn, John (in the recent past he was the Bishop John of the RPTs [Russian Orthodox Church] of Zhitomir and Ovrutsk) with the assistance of one of the hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church from abroad and an archbishop of the RPTs, who wished to remain anonymous.

The synod continued this work. It chose Metropolitan Mystyslav (Skrypnyk)—the leader of the UAPTs in the USA, who has the title of the Metropolitan of Kiev—as the Patriarch of Kiev and all of Ukraine. This election took place in absentia, since he did not receive permission to travel to our country while the synod took place. John was chosen to be the patriarchal observer and Metropolitan of Lvov and Galicia. At the same time the synod recognized as unfounded the Russian Orthodox Church Synod's decisions, which had inflicted a discriminatory penalty on its former bishop, and today the leading hierarch of the UAPTs. The rank of archbishop was also conferred at the synod to the bishops of Ivano-Frankovsk and Kolyma, Andriy and of Ternopil and Buchach, Vasylii.

In commenting on these events, it is worth noting, that the decisions on the aforementioned issues were accepted, unfortunately, with violations of the fundamental norms of democratic procedure for election. The reason for this, in our view, are found in the politics of "procrastination," which, without doubt, [characterized] the act of selecting the patriarch and his local observer. The passage of resolutions on these issues sharply contrasted with the noticeable tendency of democratization in our social life. Such a practice will not work to the benefit of UAPTs, and the unnecessary haste [with which the] fundamental issues [were resolved] attests to a lack of consideration involved in making of decisions and their propagandistic character.

However, despite the significance of the decisions passed by the synod, which regulate the church's internal life, it should be noted, that its central ideas, to which almost all the speakers addressed themselves, were tied to a

search for a historical justification for the current stage of the rebirth of UAPTs and inter-confessional relations.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, in the view of one its hierarchs is the only religious organization, which produces ideas, on the basis of which the nation can be consolidated. Concluding from this point, it cannot accept autocephalous status from the hands of the RPTs, even if this were proposed, until the time, when the latter renounces all its pretensions in regards to the UAPTs and especially over Metropolitan John, who one of the speakers called a "Ukrainian Moses." Autocephaly, it was stated in the introductory telegram to Metropolitan Mystyslav, is not to be accepted from "kind" hands—in itself it has its respected place in the lap of universal Orthodoxy and is possessed of great martyrs and a God-loving people.

In such a manner, one can ascertain that the UAPTs leadership is taking advantage of the believers' aspirations for independence, caring little for the canonical aspect of its decisions, which were accepted at the synod. In many instances, the UAPTs episcopate took decisive steps that were marred by their propagandistic aims, having as its goal a provocation of the hierarchy, clergy, and believers of those confessions, who oppose the institutionalization of UAPTs. First of all, this applies to the Russian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Churches.

As the synod showed, all the complexities of inter-confessional relations in Ukraine are concentrated in the context of squabbles between the representatives of these Christian orientations. The Russian Orthodox Church, its members, were accused of being cut off from the masses, of being unwilling to understand the problems of the adherents of Orthodoxy in Ukraine, and of making attempts to subordinate the church to support the state in politics. The synod demanded the removal of the RPTs from decisions involving property and possessions, which have arisen in the western oblasts of Ukraine because of the renewal of the activity of the UAPTs and GKTs [Greek Catholic Church]; in doing so, it has not expressed a desire to try to find a mutual understanding with all the interested parties.

It is not too difficult to see, that the ideas, which resounded at the synod on the occasion of the current stage of establishing the UAPTs and the complications in the inter-confessional relations, are to a considerable degree colored with the concept of ethnocentrism; that is, with a view of events which absolutizes the values and orientations professed by one certain ethnic group. The issue at hand concerns an ethnic group, not a nation, because Ukrainians are a majority in the communities of Russian Orthodoxy, and in the communities of the UAPTs. So for years the Russian Orthodox Church did not pay almost any attention to the national peculiarities of Orthodoxy in various regions of the country, including regions also in our republic. The necessity of taking them into account is an emphasis that is only being made today. And this has engendered in some

believers a negative attitude in regards to Russian Orthodoxy, which spread by virtue of the inactivity of RPTs, towards the issue of establishing mutual relations with the Greek-Catholics and of defending the adherents of Orthodoxy in Galicia. Naturally, this position of the Russian Orthodox Church cannot be justified. But the continual heating up of the ethnocentric passions of the adherents of the UAPT's also does not have any justification. So then one of the most urgent tasks today remains working with believers in terms of teaching them to have a tolerant attitude towards the representatives of other confessions and to search for civilized resolutions to arguments over property and possession. The first sprouts of such a responsible position among the representatives of the various churches have already begun to appear. There is the well known position of the Russian Orthodox Church concerning the recognition of the right of people to choose a faith in accordance to their traditions. Healthy ideas in terms of resolving the inter-confessional conflicts have begun to appear also in the milieu of the adherents of the UAPT's and GKT's.

One can completely agree with Ye. Sverstiuk—the editor of the newspaper *NASHA VIRA—PRAVOSLAVYA*, who in speaking at the synod called the inter-confessional quarrels an anachronism, an imitation of the monopolistic, totalitarian frame of thinking, which reigned in various spheres of life in our society. It is significant that the resolutions of the synod promoted a winning struggle of this anachronism in the consciousness of believers of all confessions. Without doubt, religious and national feelings have great power. Directed to the current of confrontation, they can lead to catastrophic consequences, which our rich history has seen enough of.

This should be remembered by everyone.

To attain a peaceful resolution of the problems depends to a considerable extent on the careful calculations of the organs of authority, various civic-political groups, and individuals, who one way or another influence the character of relations among believers of various confessions. It was no coincidence that at the synod there resounded ideas about the inadmissibility of interference from outside into ecclesiastical affairs. In the first place this applies to the new civic-political organizations, which have actively taken part in deciding the most varied issues from various spheres of social life. Their attention has not passed over the church as well. But the logic of these organizations' attitude, the desire to as soon as possible explain matters, has lead in a number of instances to their members assuming an inconsiderate attitude to the complex problems of religious-ecclesiastical life. Often political slogans have not been carefully examined, which ignore the confessional differences, and the support of regional associations of Rukh, SNUM [Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth], "Memorial," and some other organizations of certain religious movements have only exacerbated the relations among the believers of various confessions.

Therefore, today it is important to understand, that the widespread popularity, the successes in political life, and the aspirations to construct a religious-ecclesiastical life as seen fit, without taking into account age-long traditions, are not worth anything, if they are not aimed at preserving communal peace and good neighborly relations among the believers of various confessions.

[editorial note: This article is being printed in abbreviated form. It appears complete in the journal *LYUDYNA I SVIT* No 8.]

### **New School Opened for Teaching Instruction In Ukrainian**

90P50088A

[Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 23 August 1990 on page 4 carries an interview with V. P. Shevchenko, the rector of Donetsk State University, in which he reveals that a new institution for training teachers to instruct in Ukrainian affiliated with the university will soon open.

According to the rector, this institution is the result of the new Ukrainian language law mandating the change-over to Ukrainian as the language of instruction in secondary and higher education. However, he denies the charge that this will duplicate the efforts of the Taras Shevchenko Language Society: "Ukrainian national schools need personnel for the secondary and advanced levels. In contrast to the other Ukrainian teacher's school, we will be at the secondary level, but according to the concept of the organizers, with a reformed and enhanced program."

The rector states that applicants must have reached the ninth level and will be chosen on the basis of competitive exams. They are to come from the widest possible geographical area and will number 100 the first year. It is anticipated that there will be 200 students the following year.

The rector acknowledges that at first some of the graduates of this institution will have to teach in Russian language secondary schools due to the lack of corresponding Ukrainian language secondary schools.

### **Kazakh Writer on Fate of Kazakh Culture, Declining Birth Rate**

90US1191A Alma-Ata *SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN* in Kazakh 22 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Khamit Yerghaliyev, Kazakh SSR state prize laureate, Kazakhstan people's writer, recorded by Baqyt Sarbalayev: "We Are on the Watch Today"]

[Text] [Sarbalayev]—Honored Khama! It would seem appropriate for us to begin our interview, first and foremost, with matters connected with the conditions of the times now affecting our lives. This is because it is clear that Perestroika, beginning from April of 1985, has in truth had a revolutionary effect. However, as our



expectations have risen, self-control and restraint have decreased. We observe that true glasnost has sometimes developed into irresponsibility.

[Yerghaliyev]—Indeed, our Soviet society is now passing through difficult times. While we have gained a great deal, there is also much we have lost. It is also true that if we rely on Marxist-Leninist dialectic, taking the good along with the bad, and do not fight with one another, something will come out of all this.

We who have, in our time, known it all, and made everything the subject of deep understanding, cannot claim that we have struggled to achieve a unity of word and deed. If we think about it, we have, as a society, not travelled the road of Lenin, but another road. Those who have travelled the right way but who have gotten lost in the process are not few among us. To be sure, my teacher Akhmet Baytursynov, whom I knew in 1923, when I was six years old, is still with me. I can say that things impressed upon one's mind when one is a child remain indelibly imprinted there. There are regimes which think that a people has no desire to hold to individuals, to gifted historical figures, but regard them as unnumbered progeny, and that the chips fly in all directions when a tree is chopped down. For such regimes, such leading intellectuals, which shine a ray of light upon the sufferings of a people which esteems them, and which as thinkers openly tell the bitter truth, are altogether anathema.

My Kazakhs, My Nation! Standing proudly,  
You are tested. Your livestock are plundered,  
Your soul is besieged, Open your hungry  
eyes!

As I remember, whoever the poet, the fighter was who wrote these ardent lines, he too was unable to survive the events of the 1930s. There was little benefit in dividing those born of the same parents, who lived on the same earth, into white and red. What kind of justice could one expect from an age become the "punishment of Allah" for mankind. But now acting resolutely, and being brave in our security we know now what awaited those of our brothers who have gone before, whose greater distinction, and superiority compared to our generation, to ourselves proved deceiving. They died speaking openly what was on their minds. Is it not the virtue of the poet to express what is in his thoughts, without hiding anything? However, their good fortune has become the "grief" of Kazakh literature. They left us too early. The people have not been able to absorb their thoughts fully. In this way our mother people was deprived of its great personages. It was altogether difficult to stir up the people completely. For that reason they did not believe it when it was asserted that they were enemies, in particular, Japanese agents. Indeed, for lies and false accusations system, collusion and proof were necessary. Did these circumstances apply only to literature? No. Persons who cried for their country, who raised up their heads to

protest were shot in numbers in science and culture, in art and in politics. It is as if a nation had become headless in form.

[Sarbalayev]—The bitter truth is better than sweet deception. Materials from previous congresses, plenums and from other formal gatherings has been placed in abundance before most of the people for some years. By and large we are able to read the songs and writings of poets and writers. Things are different now. What in your view is the reason? In fact, is literature lagging behind life or, if not, are the politicians running ahead of poets and writers?

[Yerghaliyev] To be sure, the people's essay writers are widely read. One hears the words of USSR peoples deputies frequently on television. I also am always listening to what N.A. Nazarbayev is saying. But in spite of this one cannot say that the journalists and politicians are outrunning writers. The position of the poet's song, the secrets of the artist is always apart. This does not mean that literature cannot be "connected" with what is happening in life. What is in question here is the revolutionary qualities of the changes now going on in our society. We have no time to read light-weight books. Thus, these days, every one, be he Russian or Kazakh, be he involved with culture or with the every day, must find his place in society and must seek or determine his own fate. At present, the goal and aim of fine literature must be made subject to specific historical circumstances.

[Sarbalayev]—Life and art, society and writers, they have always been linked, of a kind. As the famous Goethe said: "Everything in all the cracks of the world passes through the heart of the poet." However, no doubt you are unable to remain neutral faced with the world situation. Which among world problems are you concerned about in particular?

[Yerghaliyev]—In fact, the question of peace concerns me. It is clear that without tranquility flowers pale, the earth becomes full of graves and poetry remains rude. Fortunately, it now appears likely that there will be no war. Beginning a nuclear struggle would, first of all, be like the insane persons condemning each other to death. But another catastrophe, no less powerful, an ecological catastrophe, threatens mankind. The Aral has declined and is on the verge of death. The land of Abay has become the capital of nuclear testing. Our mother tongue is breathing its last, just like a fish in our hands. Each of these is a major question concerning the people and the government. But I think that these problems will be solved of themselves if we take in hand the greatest question of them all, cherishing and protecting mankind.

The condition of mothers and children is difficult in our nation, in Kazakhstan in particular. I am not a specialist who has investigated this problem and considered solutions. However, even facts which can be discovered from reading the periodical press are frightening. For example, whereas 2,727,000 young families come into being each year in the Soviet Union, one-third break up

in less than a year. Whereas laws were drawn up and put into force abroad in 1948 prohibiting women from working night shifts, some 38 percent of our working women work night shifts. At present 370,000 women in Kazakhstan work in industrial establishments harmful to their healths. Some 500,000 women are directly involved in physical labor. Even with these difficulties heaped on their heads, women spend 40 hours a week involved with house work and travel 13 versts every day. This being the case, women can devote only 17 minutes a day to educating their children. It should be no surprise that there is so much crime among young people educated in this way. We all know how high infant mortality is in Kazakhstan. As has been noted, 20,000 children up to the age of 14 die each year in the republic. One third of these deaths are for children aged less than one year.

One amazing thing is that there are inequalities even in these inequalities attributed to the environment of mothers and children. For example, there are considerable differences between the rights of Moscow mothers and children and Alma-Ata mothers and children. More specifically, whereas the assistance paid per new-born in Moscow is 50 rubles, it is 35 rubles in Alma-Ata. Whereas a mother who has recently given birth receives material assistance for looking after her child at home for up to three years in the RSFSR, women in Kazakhstan must go to work after 1.5 years. Likewise, whereas in the western and central regions of our country, families with three children are considered large families, and receive facilities in the allotment of housing, Kazakhstan women are not considered mothers with large families if they do not have four children. Why is this so? Are Smolensk children superior to Semipalatinsk children? Or are Kurgan women more refined than Kzyl-orda women? If this is not the case then why are the toddlers of Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Pribaltika strongly favored by decisions made with respect to mothers of large families and children and with respect to various facilitations, while Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Khirghizistan must wait at least two or three years to have similar rights?

[Sarbalayev]—There is no doubt that elections to the KaSSR Supreme Soviet are playing a major role in renewal of social life. In fact, among those hoping to be chosen by the people is also your daughter, Kazakh television journalist Gulzhan Yerghaliyeva...

[Yerghaliyev] My daughter is one of four children. She was proposed as a candidate and gained nomination through votes cast at a meeting. There are many aspects of questions discussed above, rights of mothers and children, the family, struggle against youth crime, which my daughter has been raising for some time and has written about productively. In particular, the documentary television film called "Pledge," produced by my daughter and about the people's "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement organized to oppose nuclear testing in Kazakhstan, has drawn a great deal of attention. The film has been shown twice in Moscow and has

been offered to television viewers in the United States, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.

How can I not be happy, how can I not be a well-wisher when my daughter has done well in her work, is esteemed by her contemporaries and has been offered as an candidate for post of KaSSR Supreme Soviet deputy!? Nonetheless, I am disturbed by manifestations of inequality among our women and men in this regard. For example, women are only 9 percent of KaSSR Supreme Soviet candidates and the election of these few women is not guaranteed. Let me take as an example No 8 Higher Education Institutions Electoral Okrug, where my daughter is a candidate. There are seven candidates there beside Gulzhan. All are men, famous persons in their full powers.

If my daughter is lucky and is elected a KaSSR Supreme Soviet deputy, the very first issues she will raise, advance and defend will be rights of mothers and children, our present and future state and stopping nuclear testing in Kazakhstan.

[Sarbalayev]—Dear Khama! I would like to bring this interview to a close with a question about literature, and your own creativity. When I observe that some writers reject their basic vocation and drag along behind them cudgels which they are unable to lift, I cannot help but recall the words of stormy revolutionary writer V.V. Mayakovskiy to the effect that: "A cow must, first and foremost, provide milk." In fact, should we not expect literary works from the people's writers?

[Yerghaliyev]—The basic duty of a writer is to write new works expressive of the feelings of the people, which also provide their own form to life and which strengthen the character of spiritual man. Today there are no longer forbidden themes. Linguistic hobbles and limits to aspirations have been removed. You are free to write about whatever you like. We, the writers, must carry out perestroyka above all through literature.

If I rejoice when I say that I write new songs able to draw the attention of the nation, or when I say that I am writing a powerful novel able to fill in the "blank pages" of the era of "blank pages," able to reveal their secrets, I am doing just what I should be doing. Is a poet not evaluated by the range of his song, a writer by the depth of his insight? That is to say, if a poem is read as it ought to be read, it cannot fail to meet the high demands of today's reader who quietly shakes his head? After this has been done it will be clear that there has been no lowering of literary standards. True literary works do not arise from re-expounding truth known to everyone. I have not seen beauty and new qualities in some works presented in the theater. But if I try to answer the question posed by the people: "what have you done?" I have still not recovered from serious cardiac disease. To tell the truth about myself, I could die at any time. This being the case, it is difficult for me to take up my pen and write new songs. In addition, I intend shortly to revise

work of recent years. I plan to refine some new stories and many songs written about these times, and not leave them in an unripe state.

When I have summoned up my literary powers I would say: while the present is full of deficiency, full of waste, it is an interesting and responsible time. The critical question of the day is whether perestroika will be successful or not. For the Soviet regime to reject everything which has existed for the last 70 years, for it to fail to find anything good at all about the road we have been travelling, is not only unjust, but is abuse. As I view events, I believe in the Communist Party which has resolutely overcome the great illnesses within it. The great duty which now stands before our poets and writers is to help the party do the right thing. We will help renew our nation and increase national power with new, wonderful songs. I am not the person who, during such critical times, will stand aside from the struggle for the people, and for the party. If I may now repeat what I have said before, we may rest for now:

We are on the watch today, three fold, The  
light of the poets is not extinguished in the  
night. Our songs also—members of the  
party. They speak a party poetry!

#### Life of Kazakhs in RSFSR Profiled

90US1210A Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN  
in Kazakh 1 May 90 p 3; 2 May 90 p 3; 4 May 90 p 3

[Articles by Qaynar Olzhayev: "Omby Kazakhs"]

[Text]

A reporter who received the order "go and see," comes back from his adventure saying "I have been there and returned." Whereas when I was first called upon to undertake my journey, I thought "what an idea," and doubted that I "would find Kazakhs anywhere in the two oblasts which skirt the two sides of the Ertis River." Now I am doubtful! if I will be able express fully the many encounters which I have personally participated in, and which have imposed themselves on my mind, innumerable conversations which I have taken down in my notebook or recorded. The reason is that I have been greatly influenced by Omby, and I have a great deal to say. The reason I have a great deal to say is that there are a great many Omby Kazakhs. It was determined in last year's All-Union Census that 75,000 Kazakhs live in the oblast. Kazakhs are fourth in numbers among ethnic groups there. This is the only statistical information we are going to provide our readers. Now let us turn our attentions to the reality of the world.

#### 1. A Posthumous 'Golden Ring'

The Omby land is the homeland of the Kazakhs living there and is a region where they die and are born. But readers need not ask: "how did 75,000 Kazakhs get there?" On the contrary, citizens who have emerged from among the broad masses of Omby Kazakhs have worked in every part of Kazakhstan, they have governed the people and are now still in control of major sectors of the republic. The village of Ortaqshyl is the place where one of the citizens from Omby, Qoshke (Qoshmaghambet) Kemenggerov, worked as a doctor, laboring like the swallow to provide water for his thirsty people with his wings. This village is one of the divisions of Sharbaqkol Rayon in Omby Oblast. In times past, the sons and daughters of this division have made shine the name of Qoshke Kemenggerov, and have thought it suitable to show that he was true to their heritage and traditions. They are have prepared for the stage a play called the "Golden Ring" of Qoshke Kemenggerov and have taken it to Omby. All the Kazakhs of the city overfilled the palace of culture and a famous son became known once again. The posthumous "Golden Ring" thus was returned to the Kazakhs of Omby.

He vanished in 1937. But until that time he suffered imprisonment in Semipalatinsk and in Alma-Ata, and was then moved to the Ukraine. His son Nartay (Narmaghambet) served for many years as the director of the middle school in Ortaqshyl division. He is mentioned in a poem of Qoshke Kemenggerov written from Delinetin Prison:

I have been hungry for three days—in prison.  
From the dampness I live in,—in a sad state.  
From all of this if, one way or the other, I die,  
who will bear the tidings to our house. \*\*\* I  
have written my dear greetings, Here in this  
prison I say my goodbyes. When will I see  
Zayra, Nartay and Sawlezhan—and say my  
goodbyes to them.

Today he is retired and no longer teaches. He gives lessons in Kazakh language to a fertile new generation. The fact that members of the Kemenggerov family are giving Kazakh language lessons in the Russian republic has great significance. Nartay also has the poetic gift. He recited for us a poem dedicated to his father:

In those times I was a child, of seven years.  
My pastime, my enjoyment was the steppe.  
My father's shining face vanished suddenly.  
With my mother, I stayed behind weeping.

We understood how much the Kemenggerov family esteems the "golden ring" of their father when we went to the house of Rizabek, together with Nartay, with difficulty avoiding the spring flood waters accumulated on both sides of the raised road in the middle of Ortaqshyl village. Spring water! We set out on our journey during the first week of April. It was the time that the snow, which falls thickly on the Omby land, up to the chest of a horse in winter, melts. The broad steppe, both sides of the Ertis, are unbounded sea. The pools of



water pressing on the road, the dense birch groves, the bird nests in the stately birches themselves are all at the same level. The black soil in the dried up patches in the steppe provides evidence of the fertility of the region. Such is the richness of the soil there, with absolutely no stone or rock. The roads raised up with black soil are washed away each year by the melting snow. Thus, we came to Rizabek's house, wading through the water. He is the son of Nartay and the grandson of Qoshke. He has followed the way of his father and has become a teacher in the Ortaqshyl village school.

There is an old photograph in the place of honor, five dombras lined up on a rug, and on the book shelf Qoshke's 1925 Kazakh-Russian dictionary, published in Moscow. The things show that we are called upon to honor our ancestral heritage from the cradle. Rizabek's five-year-old daughter Aynur sang the song "Boz-torghay," and seven-year-old Maqsuty played "Qos-alqa." When they had done this we rejoiced that the ancestral tradition is not only being preserved, but is continuing to develop. The paper QAZAQ ADEBIYETI, and the magazines PARASAT, QAZAQSTAN AYYELDERI and ZHULDYZ on the table would not allow us to believe that this family was living in isolation from Kazakhstan. In fact it would be a good thing to see such a rich heritage and spiritual riches in the place of honor in every house of our republic. We are discomforted inside on account of the lazy and complacent individuals of our own centers.

This is the proper place to mention that the Omby Kazakhs are enthusiastic about Kazakh publications. It seems that the circulation of PARASAT is 1155 in this Oblast, QAZAQSTAN AYYELDERI, 980, ZHULDYZ, 562, ARA, 228 and BALDYRGHAN, 107. Unfortunately, it turns out that while local people subscribe to such publications, they cannot get them in some cases. For example, issues No 1, 4 and 9 of the "horse" year run of QAZAQ ADEBIYETI never arrived at the house of our elder brother Nartay. Later, when we visited the oblast "Soyuzpechat" Administration, administration chief Mariya Vaganov said that distribution of publications was the responsibility of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Communications, and blamed the Kazakh Republic for the problem.

The person who brought "Golden Ring" to Omby, and who gave a great concert after the play, was Aygul Sarsenbayeva, an Ortaqshyl village youth organizer and chief of a club there. Participating in the staging of the play showing the Kazakh life, character and traditions of the turn of the century were teacher B. Ibrayev, salesman Q. Waldinova, milker Z. Rayysova, youth volunteer, accountant Q. Toqbayeva, housing enterprise worker S. Usina and Rizabek and his wife, doctor Qulash, along with others.

The honesty of the posthumous play "golden ring" warmed our hearts and made us rejoice.

## 2. The 'ayyzashar' and Mrs. Ayna

Remembering that the question "what is the life of the people there like?" would be on the minds of the reader, let us tell the story of a man we met in Omby City. While there are more than 20,000 Kazakhs in the city, our acquaintance, Zaleleddin Sandalov was nothing special among them in terms of spiritual interests or of living standards.

Zhalel had three elder brothers. One younger brother, Zhamaleddin, was a pensioner in the subdivision. Since he has a large family he has received a five room apartment in the center of the city. A second younger brother, Zhawharaddin was a worker in a factory. He had an apartment in the newly built sections of Omby city. Zhalel himself lives in a private house inherited from his father in the center of the city, along with his own family. The best thing is that he has had to preserve staunchly in this house our entire tradition. His wife Ayna wears a veil both at home and on the streets. His sons and daughters are yielding to their elders.

—Last summer I kept milch mares in my pen and we had khumiss to drink—said Zhalel.—We are fattening up the mare for slaughter. We have its colt.

As if to prove what Zhalel said, a colt whinnied in the farm yard. In the house, three-year-old Qwat had learned how to imitate the sound of the colt exactly. Inside the great house he jumped about neighing and snorting. The proud parents stroked Qwat calling him "Qylynshaq" [snorter].

Mrs. Ayna was already working. After taking her child to kindergarten she thought it a good idea to educate him at home. She did so out of the hope that he would speak his mother tongue expertly. This was a wonderful decision. When Mrs. Ayna tells Kazakh tales to Qwat, his brothers Yerik and Azat, who go to school, and sister Aygul, who studies at the university, listen. When Qwat grows up the stories will continue. In line on the book shelf are four volumes of "folk tales," two volumes of "poetry competitions," three volumes of "heroic songs" and two volumes of "five centuries of poetry."—I cannot get sausage and wieners from the store—, says Mrs. Ayna.—I cannot even buy pelmeni.

Why?—, we asked deliberately. Mrs. Ayna laughed.

It is possible that they will be made with a meat forbidden to Muslims.

When we talk about cultural traditions, we must mention that we went during the time of "oraza." Whereas this seasonal festival meant nothing to us in Alma-Ata, the festival was observed in this area (in Omby preparations were being made to observe it). However, the problem was not our having to fast all day, the problem was rather with the "ayyzashar" [breaking of the fast] which was to take place that evening. Omby Kazakhs hold regular "ayyzashar" feasts and invite people to attend during the month of "oraza." One is free to observe the "oraza" or not, but it is proper to attend "ayyzashar" feasts, and to hold such feasts in one's own household.

The "ayyzashar" is a wonderful festival in which city Kazakhs greet one another, recall the ancestors and wish the well-being of their posterity. It was also celebrated in Zhalel's house. Prayers are read, dedicated to the elders. Nets and bows are distributed to the old women and men. When we saw the old women who continued to say "amen," and the old men with soft leather boots on their feet, the young men in their skull caps, the women in their calico head dresses, the round tables, we felt that we were not in a Russian city, but in our own village, in the presence of some Kazakh elder.

The people gathered there made clear that the problem here is the absence of religion. Carrying out "ayyzashar" feasts, going to the mosque on Fridays is not just a matter of not forgetting religion, it is also of benefit for not forgetting one's kindred, one's blood relatives, language and tradition. In particular, in a great city of more than a million inhabitants, if one loses one's religion, one loses sight of Kazakhness.

At one of the "ayyzashar" taking place under such social conditions, the old men and elder brothers approved the formation of a separate religious administration for Kazakhstan Muslims, split off from the Central Asia Administration. They then expressed the desire for themselves to be placed under this administration. They said that "Ratbek qazy should take care of the rest and what is here should be our business." The Muslim mosque in that city had not been able to survive campaigns of destruction and of damage taking place from time to time in Kazakhstan, and in all of Russia. At present the Muslim people are rebuilding an old barn as a mosque and gather there on Fridays for prayer. It would seem that the Oblast chiefs have given them land for a new mosque.

This is what we have to say about tradition, life and religion.

### 3. Altynay, Disappointed with Alma-Ata

We heard about the "Moldir" Kazakh Club in Omby when we were still in Alma-Ata. As soon as we reached Omby it drew us like a magnet.

M. Alzhanova was the founder and primary sponsor of "Moldir." Today Mayra works for the National Culture Center under the oblast Labor Unions Congress, and is the representative of the Kazakh people in that place. Altynay Zhunisova holds Mayra's place in "Moldir." Whereas Mayra is even-tempered, restrained, Altynay is decisive and quick. This creates broad possibilities for the well-established club to now function freely. Until she began working for "Moldir," Altynay worked in a house of culture on the outskirts of the city. She mostly had nothing to do. But she had long had an interest in "Moldir." Today, for a monthly salary totaling 90 rubles, she has taken up responsibility for the tortures of the "Moldir" club, lasting late into the night.

If now you are wondering what it is the club has done, it has displayed its art in the city several times and organizes a Kazakh New Year's festival. It has organized an exhibition of rugs found there, and of various rugs woven by hand by local women. Let us quote the opinions of a few of the thousands of Omby people marveling at the exhibition who recorded their thoughts on paper. "I came with my whole family to the exhibit and it has had a wonderful impact on us. I found out for the first time, after living 39 years in Omby City, that such a wonderful, colorful people's art existed alongside Russian art. We offer our great thanks to true people's artists such as Z. Baysembayeva, R. Sarsenov, M. Khabuldinova. The Galushko Family." Smacking our lips, we read the entire book of impressions of the exhibit, our spirits rejoicing even if we did not see the exhibit. "After this exhibit, I understood the spiritual wealth and artistic achievement of our great people, and that the power to express the world has not been exhausted. A. Duysekin." Taking another close look we read: "Recalling that the spiritual tradition of Kazakh craftsmanship exists, and that true works of art still exist, it would not only be suitable to mount such exhibits frequently, but to allow a full range of development to Kazakh people's craftsmanship. With respect Bogomolov."

This last suggestion should be brought to the attention of the Omby Oblast Soviet Executive Committee. Thus, the exhibition organized by "Moldir" reached its planned goal. However, its work is not done with this. This brings us to the young people practicing Kazakh songs. When the elders are free they come to "Moldir," and give their encouragement to those at the head of the round mud table drinking a cup of tea.

With the resources of the club, evenings devoted to Abay Qunanbayev and Maghzhan Zhumabayev are given at the palace of culture of the Sibir Factory imeni Revolutionary Strugglers in Omby City. At present a Saken Sayfullin evening is being prepared. In the name of those participating, a letter has been written to the city executive committee asking that two streets in Omby be named after Shoqan Walikhanov and Saken Sayfullin. Thousands of persons, Kazakhs, Russians, Tatars and Germans, signed the letter. In the end, the names of the two honored Kazakh sons, who had left behind influences on Omby, were given to streets. "Moldir" has not rested on its laurels. It is now establishing a special fund to build a monument to Shoqan in the city. Some funds have already been deposited to the account.

Here we have a gripe with those in control of Omby Oblast and city. The people should not establish a monument through their own efforts, and funds collected from themselves. In our view, funds to plan and raise the monument should be planned for and allocated in the budget. Thereby the people's money can be expended for the keep-up of the area about the monument, and for making it green.

Let us return to "Moldir." On 11 January this year a great celebration was held to note the first anniversary of

the foundation of the club. Specially invited to the celebration was a woman who once wrote a special letter suggesting that "you should name your new club Moldir ['limpid, transparent; pure'] since your aim and goal are as pure as water." The woman was summoned to the stage and was congratulated by Altynay. In connection with this, a song of congratulations directed at "Moldir" was performed before a large audience:

**From the art of our people, we have taken our nourishment, from a transparent ["moldir"] purity, we have drawn our song. To raise the banner of "Moldir" [i.e. of purity] we have marched forth.**

After that each person in order sang their own personal songs. When they had made themselves known, the people applauded for a long time.

**My name—Altynay, I work, for my people. I strive eagerly, for "Moldir" fame, managing my center.**

To which accordion player Zholaman Bektemirov replied, in mirth:

**I born on the Ertis, lead an artistic life. I sing the song of "Moldir," my future will be more glorious than my today.—**

Others carried the song further. The entire poem was written by Omby poet Amangeldi Zhunisov. Our republic should know Amangeldi. He has participated in poets' contests in the capital and has emerged wearing the robe of honor. He still wears the robe, and he still has something to say. This is what he wants to do. Amangeldi now leads the club dombra group. If you see Amangeldi sitting among children aged 12-15, teaching them how to play "Elim-ay," you cannot remain unaffected.

Suddenly two individuals strided shyly from the door of "Moldir." There are things they need. "Our mother is 50 years old. Would you come to the celebration and present Kazakh songs and melodies? This would be a wonderful gift for our mother who has always fervently loved Kazakh songs. We will reward you for your efforts." Thus we went to Mrs. Abileva Mariyash's birthday party. The people at the party loved the music, but the performers absolutely refused to take any payment. All returned with a new shirt.

Leaving off celebrating a little, one day they decided to go to a children's home in Omby. On that occasion, a darling baby named Rinat refused to be separated from Altynay. Later, when she told her mother Sharban about it, she was very sad when her mother said: "Oh my dear, why did you not take the child home with you?" After that she could not forget about Rinat. And it turned out that Rinat was thinking about her too. On another occasion, they, that is the Kazakh young men and women of the "Moldir" Club, went to put on a show for a military unit with a great deal of service. Most of the young men [in the unit] were from Kazakhstan. The

members of the group were refreshed to hear the statement: "Who would of thought that we should hear a Kazakh song in Omby."

Amidst such untiring labors, education is also remembered. Altynay's goal has been to study in Alma-Ata. Application was sent to the capital of Kazakhstan. The women who saw the application at the Women's Pedagogical Institute said: "My girl, if you do not live in Kazakhstan you cannot be accepted to our institute!" The student came back from the longed-for capital unable to gain admission. She has even tried a second time. She heard the same thing: "Only the girls of our republic study in our institute."

"I was unable to say that I am the daughter of a Kazakh. I had to return home sadly. I will never see Alma-Ata..."

No, it is true that my father is one of those Kazakhs who 'three times has visited the land he has never visited, and has seen three times the land he has never seen.'" When Altynay was chief of a club in Qoyanbay division, at one corner of Omby Oblast, Qayrat Baybosynov came to town and gave a concert. After Qayrat had seen her need and heard her voice, he said: "Come to Alma-Ata, I will take you into my studio." Saying "The third time is the charm," she then went to the studio. The beginning of the school year came, and the head of the studio summoned a committee and announced to them that Altynay Zhunisova had come from Omby. They decided that "she is to be admitted." As the next school year approached, she happily returned. When the new school year began, there was no one to intercede after the December [1986] changes which had taken place in the meantime. Those coming to school again were greeted with "we have not admitted you."

Totally disappointed in her hopes for Alma-Ata, she began external study in the Barnaul Theater-Arts Institute.

When we heard Altynay herself tell this story, even though we are neither minister nor rector, we looked to the responsible authorities. Indeed, how can we, who have crowed so loudly about Kazakh culture, art and tradition, have been so hard-hearted that on three separate occasions we have driven from our door a young lady who, in addition to studying in Russian, has learned by heart the mother tongue and music on her own, outside the school? Where is our civic responsibility, our concern for others?

Recently she has become involved with something else. Kazakh students in Omby City institutions of higher education and Kazakh young people living there got into a brawl on the dance stage. After that, Altynay went to the dance stage each night and made peace between the two sides, and returned after inviting them all to come to "Moldir." What can one say about Altynay!

#### 4. A cautionary tale



A Kazakh fairy tale was put on in the Central Television Omby Theater which is fondly remembered by the people. Thus we found ourselves in the Lenin Komsomol imeni Omby Children's and Young People's Theater. This was the theater which staged the fairy tale. The "Tale of the Golden Throne, the silver Flower and the Old Dombra" was a major event in Omby cultural life.

The theater did not proceed to such an accomplishment out of the blue. Much is do being done to refine ethnic relations in the oblast. The emphasis in this area is being directed at the educated, and at arts collectives. The Childrens and Young People's Theater is gaining recognition as the leader in this regard in Omby, which has several drama and musical comedy theaters. The theater collective, which has hitherto staged works by Russians and foreigners, and classics, has now made a firm decision to prepare a play derived from the life of the Kazakhs, one of the peoples inhabiting the oblast since early times, a play based in Kazakh oral literature and focusing, within Kazakh oral literature, on legends associated with old man Zhirenshe and sagely Qarashash, has become a special theme.

But plans are one thing, achievements are something else. The performance was being eagerly awaited. This being the case, would the region's 75,000 Kazakhs be happy with what Omby Kazakhs were doing to please them? If one pleases, one pleases with real art, with a superior performance, with good directing, with catchy music, and with a resourceful production. Remembering this, the Omby theater asked for help from Alma-Ata colleagues. "Come and help."

If friendship in the arts is the key to ethnic friendship, then a mutual friendship came into being between the Omby and Alma-Ata youth theaters, and a creative solidarity between young people during the preparation and production of the fairy tale. When the actors of the theater found out we had come from Alma-Ata, they at once said: "take greetings to our [Nur]qanat." Their [Nur]qanat is our theater director Nurqanat Zhaqypbayev. Nurqanat was the stage director at the Omby theater for the fairy tale. Now, through offering the greetings of the actors to many, we express our satisfaction with Nurqanat for efforts which have brought Kazakhstan and Omby closer together. So too the Omby people take a similar view of Alma-Ata theater artist A. Ayapbergenov, and of composer S. Beyterekov

The day the tale was staged became a great holiday for the city and oblast. One way or the other, it was a great festival for the Kazakhs there.

##### 5. Omby Kazakhs have defended the nation

At one place within the walls of the beautiful club, built according to the standards of an administrative subdivision which is no inflated giant, but no neglected nothing either, there hang on a large board pictures of war veterans. You are amazed that "there are so many distinguished veterans in one administrative division?" All are Kazakhs who died while still young. What hats,

what winter caps on their heads! What medals and orders on their breasts. When one understands that they did not defend our rich Qoyanbay [Rayon] during just the Great Patriotic War, one regards the masses who come to the club with concern and with compassion.

Omby veterans, it turns out, were extremely active. The old men from the area, compared to our elders, have participated actively in social life and have carried heavy burdens. Moreover, these are people who do not have the opportunity, as we do, to listen to Kazakh television and radio, who do not read regularly the daily Kazakh press and who have had to take responsibility for their own educations in view of the lack of Kazakh-language schools and kindergarten. One good thing, young people listen to what their elders tell them.

Veterans have raised many questions in the name of Omby Kazakhs. One of these questions, raised by war veteran Sultan Yesenbolov, regarded publishing a newspaper in the Kazakh language. According to available information, there was a Kazakh-language paper called KEDEY SOZI published there during the 20s. It was organized by N.I. Dosov, secretary for Kazakhs and Tatars of the Siberian Bureau of the Russian CP Central Committee. During the years 1932-1939, in place of this paper, KYZYL TU was published in Novosibirsk, organ of the Western Siberian Regional Committee of the All-Union CP. During the years 1930-1941 the paper LENIN TWY was published in Sharbaqkol Rayon. Omby people are now requesting that this paper be again published in the oblast center. Since the the State Committee for the Press of our republic has established contact with the Omby Oblast Party Committee, and with the oblast Soviet Executive Committee, and made known its willingness to help, the matter of the paper should be settled soon.

The leaders of our republic, having had consultation with Moscow, have obtained use of one earth satellite channel. As a result, in the near future, televisions of Kazakhs in Xinjiang, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Russia will be able to receive Alma-Ata broadcasts. When we say that they will be able to receive the "Shalqar" Program, we mean that the people are rejoicing. At present, as we have stated above, the educational function of the press, or radio and television in teaching Kazakh language is now being fulfilled essentially by veterans. One of the elders who is now playing a distinguished role at the educational front, no longer having to face an enemy, is Sultan Yesenbolov. We went especially to visit him in his nice housing on Motor Street.

A woman opened the door.

—Ah, my dears, are you and your families well?—said Keywana. My father just went to the oblast party committee.

We waited tensely. The old man had collected together and had had bound the 12 annual issues of runs of MADENIYET ZHANE TURMYS and QAZAQSTAN

AYYELDERI. We paged through them, but just as we were settling down to read articles which we lacked the time to read when they first came out, or which we had been able to no more than glance at, Sultan Yesenbolov returned. We looked at him and remembered seeing him somewhere. If we were not correct, he then had a beard and moustache. Now he was old and decrepit.

Sir, it seems as if we have seen somewhere a picture of you with a beard and moustache?...

In fact, an article about the man with a picture of him wearing beard and moustache does seem to have appeared in a republic magazine.

It looks like you have grown younger since then—we said and did not stare.

I get young as time passes,—said Sultan honestly.—Indeed, I wish I had been able to get younger during my younger years.—Thus he amused himself.—I hope we have time to do as much as you do. My father is competing with the famous Omar Zhambyl and is 101 years old. They are the same age.

Amen!—we said, repeating a word often heard in Omby.

#### 6. If the Maghzhan people have possibilities

We set out for the third rayon of the oblast, and for its third village. One of them is Qoyanbay. It is part of Tavriya rayon, called Tawirzhan by the Kazakhs, and is a branch of "Lvbmir" Sovkhoz. It is comprised of about 100 houses. The people are all Kazakhs. This subdivision, which raises livestock and plant crops, is administered by a man called Maghzhan Bulanov. During the recently-held elections he was elected an oblast people's deputy. His victory in the constituency elections is evidence of his citizenship.

Qoyanbay is one of the five subdivisions of the sovkhoz. Last year it completely fulfilled its plans. Qoyanbay was awarded a 25 percent additional prize granted to the subdivision, of the enterprise, which has not violated safety rules, and has had no drunkenness and other occurrences of social disorder.

—You are a division surrounded by Germans and Russians. How do you outdistance them?

—We are the only purely Kazakh division of the sovkhoz,—said Maghzhan.—For this reason we are subject to a great deal of scrutiny. I say this openly. There is nothing shameful about it. Since we are surrounded by Russians, our organization and solidarity is good.

The village is an attractive one. A road runs through it. The streets are in good order, are clean. We will just note in passing the attractiveness of the club. The eight-year school was located in a two-story building. A middle school is now being built, and the old building will be given to a kindergarten. The beauty of Qoyanbay which is embraced by elegant birch groves, is such that nature

cannot but be jealous. Last year the village noted its ninetieth anniversary. Bearing in mind the fact that Bayimbet Village in Nazybayev Rayon has also now celebrated its hundredth anniversary, we note an interest in history on the part of local Kazakhs. What village histories have we written in our republic? It should be noted that the name Bayimbet was once changed, more accurately it was gotten rid of, and the village called "Sixth Village." The rayon has again officially sanctioned the name Bayimbet according to a 2 June snake year request of the people. This is something to think about.

Let us return to Qoyanbay. In connection with the solving of the housing problem there, Maghzhan is having at least five houses or ten apartments built a year. This is because the numbers of young people are increasing. If refuge is given each of them, if they get livestock, if the club is put into good order, and if conditions are improved, they will beat a path back from Omby. Shortly inhabitants of the subdivision will put into operation a new water system. Next year every house will receive natural gas. Qoyanbay subdivision has achieved the improvements in its living standards, not enjoyed by rayon centers, within our sovkhoz, directly through its own labors.

As we went through the Kazakh households in Omby [Oblast] we came to understand that good living standards were the result of good work. The Kazakhs of the area have suffered, and after becoming neighbors to Russians and Germans have known economic disadvantage, and sleight. While keeping their own traditions, they have not avoided learning from their neighbors. For example, they have learned how to improve the decoration of the outside of their gates and houses from their neighbors, although they are using Kazakh forms of decoration. More specifically, let me look at the example of beekeeping. Qoyanbay chief Maghzhan Bulanov and Ortaqshyl agronomist Nurmukhanbet Beyiskenov have made beekeeping and honey production habitual. However, we heard nothing about bees and beekeeping from Mr. Nurmukhanbet. We experienced it personally, and learned all about it.

Maghzhan Bulanov is a man who is not only famous in his region, but even in all of Siberia. There is a lengthy article about this man, and about Qoyanbay Village in the Snake Year October issue of the authoritative journal "Siberia and the Far East." In our view, men like Maghzhan must be promoted from the subdivisions. However, today Kazakh cadres cannot be found among rayon, enterprise and industrial chiefs. Needless to say, Maghzhan is the only Kazakh who is an oblast soviet deputy. But one deputy for 75,000 Kazakhs is too few. Likewise, how is it that there is no USSR people's deputy or RSFSR Republic deputy from among the Kazakhs living in Russia?

In Ortaqshyl, we asked subdivision agronomist, Mr. Nurmukhanbet:

—Who has medals and orders in our villages?—  
Nurmukhanbet would only say:

—We are only labor force, no one pays any attention to our young men.—Maghzhan has done a lot to promote the growth of Qoyanbay, and the improvement of its living standards. If he has extended its scope, considerable benefits have resulted.

Looking at the good living conditions and productive work of the Kazakhs there, should we carry out the proposals of some among us who say that "these people should be moved [back to the Kazakh SSR]?" If they were to come to the republic, where would they find such a pleasant village, such convenient housing and such good living conditions? Can we snatch them away, cooling off their warm housing, leaving behind their native land? If we now want to assist the Omby Kazakhs, we must know how to offer a hand of spiritual assistance.

In our minds, they need not material but moral assistance. Let us now turn the discussion in this direction.

#### 7. Song of Askerbek

The reader will understand why we have discussed things from so many perspectives in our article. We have had good reason to say "we" in the process of our discussion. We encountered singer Askerbek Engkebayev in the Alma-Ata Airport. He too was going to Omby oblast, on a musical tour. Later, the public attending Askerbek's concert expressed the desire that Kazakhstan send singers, artists, ensembles and theaters more frequently. We realized that the Kazakhs of Omby were eager for the national art of our republic.

At present there are not a few who have distinguished themselves in this area. For this reason the people of Omby long for each arts tour in their hearts and minds. Roza Baghlanova's appearance is a matter of legend. When asked for "ayran" at Maghzhan's house, his wife made a fine joke by saying: "I made the 'ayran' knowing that you would come to drink it after Sawken Kenzhetayev."

It seemed as if most of the people listened to the songs and stories of Askerbek, and it seemed hard to believe that this was only the concert of a single individual. This is because leading arts figures such as Zhanibek Karmenov, Roza Tymbayeva, Shamil Abdiltayev and Maqpal Zhinisova do not come to Omby. It is proper that singers are often sent abroad. But as we do this, we must not forget our Kazakh brothers living around us.

Young people mostly said that they wanted to see Kazakh plays. Our State Committee for Culture should achieve results in all these areas.

Film mechanic Balaghabay Qaydarov of Qudyaqshyl Village, part of Karl Marx imeni Sovkhoz in Odessa Rayon, mentioned that the people want to see films in the Kazakh language. They do not want films dubbed in Kazakh, but the unadulterated products of "Qazaqfilm." We must remember this.

A. Engkebayev's tour was organized by the "Knowledge" Society of our republic. Thus, where is our cultural sector heading? Just like the saying: "strike while the iron is hot," if we do not build a bridge of art in this time of stirring, of concern for the Omby Kazakhs, we will cool their present ardor for Kazakhstan.

In addition, our fellow Kazakhs in Omby very much want to know about present political and economic conditions in the Kazakh SSR, about ecological conditions, the review of the December Incident, the view taken of the military testing area, and conditions about the Aral. Groups set up for this purpose have answered these questions as well as they have been able. However, it can be understood that the great number of their questions disturbs their houses. Thus we should not hesitate to send scientists, historians and social activists to Omby.

As we consider the spiritual sector, let us touch on books. At present "Kazkniga" has taken in hand the establishment of connections with places lying outside the republic. In this respect the problem is solved. We have mentioned the presence of books published in the Kazakh language in recent years by Alma-Ata presses at the house of Zhaleleddin. Old man Sultan's private library is comprised of more than half a thousand works of literature in the Kazakh language. However, we noticed that the situation was altogether different in the library of Qydyqshilik Village there. According to what librarian Baqyt Noghayev said, the entire library has only one Kazakh-language picture book intended for children. Why is there only one little book for children numbering nearly four or five hundred?

Well, if we say that we will send some books, will there be any children, young people or adults who will read them. Let us now discuss this.

#### 8. Thanks! Rawshan

We need not mention that preservation of language is the foundation stone for the preservation and development of the national qualities of any nationality. Language, that is the question lying before Omby Kazakhs.

We observed in the Omby area, as in our republic, that the struggle was more a question of preserving the Kazakh language completely than of a striving for universal Russification. But this is what is to be expected in the case of representatives of a minority ethnic group. However, trying merely to preserve a language will waste a great deal of time, and will not go far. Even if children are kept at home until they go to school, it is easy for children who study among Russian children, along with only one or two other Kazakh and Tatar children, to become deprived of their language. This is the situation for Omby Kazakh children.

When we went to just those villages where the Kazakhs lived, the school and language question was foremost. The Ortaqshyl middle school, and the eight-year school



in Qoyanbay are Russian schools. Even though the students are purely Kazakh, lessons are given in Russian.

We exchanged views about this in Qoyanbay, with distinguished teacher Shayzat Muqysev. Now Kazakh language is taught there as a subject three hours a week. Three hours are very little to master a mother tongue, and learn about literary values.

—The three hours is set for the Russian Federation,—said Shayzat.—If we do not change this in the future, we will continue to be limited.

—Why do you teach in Russian when the people are Kazakh?—we said.

—What we would do to be allowed to teach in Kazakh,—said Shayzat.—However, our school is an eight-year school, how can we teach children Kazakh for two years? And if we re-established the school as a Kazakh school, would we have enough teachers?

But to get to the essence of the matter, this is not the real problem. If the parents wanted it, a Kazakh school would be established. According to what V. Kazakov, chief of the ideological division of the oblast party committee, has said, we will soon re-open the Kazakh Pedagogical School, which has been closed for a while. What is the problem then?

The Kazakhs of these villages do not themselves wish a Kazakh school. Kazakhs who are on the one side, struggling to preserve their own languages, religions and traditions are, on the other, failing to support the nationality school which is the principal weapon in this struggle. This is a contradiction. This contradiction is, we understand, connected with the education which young people receive after school. There is a university in Omby, pedagogical-medical institutes, also institutes of veterinarian medicine, motor and rail transport. It is understandable that entrance examinations for all of them and instruction are in Russian. This is the reason why parents do not raise the question of a Kazakh school.

—I have given seven of my children a higher education,—said Mr. N. Beyiskenov of Ortaqshyl.—If the school did not teach in Russian, could all of them go to Omby to study, or would Alma-Ata take them?

This is the issue, whether or not Alma-Ata will receive children who come from places outside the Kazakhstan republic. It is not just a matter of the Omby Kazakhs, it has been written in the paper that Turkmenistan Kazakhs are concerned out the same thing. It would seem proper that the Kazakh SSR Ministry of People's Education should reserve a certain number of places in capital and oblast centers of higher education for children who have completed Kazakh schools in places outside Kazakhstan. Thereby, Kazakh children studying in Kazakh schools outside of Kazakhstan would be confident of getting a higher education. Teaching

Kazakh three hours a week in several schools in Omby where 75,000 Kazakhs live cannot help.

We ourselves saw manifestations of eagerness to learn Kazakh. A Kazakh language circle has functioned in Omby City since last year. The language learning circle of one primary school grade is led by Rawshan Muqanova. During the years when everything was adjusted to the convenience of Russian, the last letter of her name was "omitted" and, in accordance with obligatory rules for the ending of Russian female names, her name was written "Rawsha." We, with her agreement, have written her beautiful name in the way it is written in its original form in the Kazakh mother tongue.

This Rawshan last year agreed to teach basic Kazakh language to a group of young people. As soon as she began doing so, the group grew. One person heard the news from another, and it became impossible to count all of those who came. Now there are a total of six groups of Kazakh language students. Each group meets twice a week, and if Rawshan teaches each for two hours, she gives lessons 24 hours a week. Is this not a heavy load for any teacher?

One of the regular groups received us with great interest. Without preparation we had to answer many questions about conditions in Kazakhstan, and trends. In turn, we asked our questions of the young people who had come to the language circle. They were young people working in factories in every corner of the city. Accountant Gulbarshyn Samarova, construction worker Qashymyrat Tilewkin, and office worker Lazzat Muqanova and others, some ten or so, had signed up voluntarily for the language study circle. They came there after work and feel it their duties to sit untiringly through two hours of Kazakh language instruction.

—We have not studied Kazakh at all in city schools,—said one.

—Better late than never,—said a second.

Both we and they enjoyed the situation.

We expressed our thanks to Rawshan Muqanova, who has formed six study circles, and is teaching the Kazakh mother tongue to Omby youth, like the swallow providing water with its wings to the thirsty. We congratulated our contemporaries such as Gulbarshyn, Qazhy-murat and Lazzat, for their first steps in regaining their Kazakh mother language. As they said, better late than never.

#### 9. Shakenov's workshop

To tell the truth, as we got ready to go to Omby, when we heard indirectly about the "Moldir" Club, Kazakh language circles, the theater fairy tale, and the family of Kemenggerov, it seemed as if it was all quite exceptional. In fact, there are not a few educated Kazakhs in Omby. For example, a scientist named Sarikbay Tastenov heads a laboratory in the Siberian Agricultural Scientific-Research Institute, while a man named Qadyr

Baykozhekov deals with Kazakh-Tatar themes in a television studio. As for Kazakh intellectuals in Omby, we were much impressed from meeting Amangeldi Shakenov, RSFSR distinguished cultural worker, member of the USSR Artists' Union, dean of the Omby M. Gorkiy imen Pedagogical Institute's Fine Arts Faculty, and by the fine things we saw in his workshop.

When we went to the foyer of the Omby Lenin Komsomol imeni Theater building, it was as if we smelled the odor of summer pastures and heard a lilting Kazakh song. The reason—we had no choice but to see an exhibit of pictures by Amangeldi Shakenov organized in this foyer. It was the picture entitled "Colts in the Wind." Summer pastures, the wind, are they not always close to Kazakhs? Amangeldi made this known without having to express it. The most important thing was that Amangeldi had expressed the qualities of the colts. Some were accepting their fate by wearing bridles, others were looking anxiously for their mothers, still others were rearing up to show their independence. Such ability in showing the rich world of the colts, could only arise in the village, and, in this context, from spiritual familiarity acquired in a horse-raising village.

When we went to find out, it turned out that Amangeldi had in fact been born in a Kazakh horse-raising village. The area about Sharbaqkol where he was born and bred, had at that time numerous horse herds. In 1953, when the 10-year-old Amangeldi returned to his family near Aqmola, at a time when there was no hustle and bustle in the world, when the natural environment had not been destroyed, and when herds were in a good condition, there were still many horse-raising villages. Today this natural environment, along with everything else, has become a fantasy. We of later generations are overwhelmed and appreciative of such pictures on canvas, expressing the conceptions of persons such as Amangeldi.

The village is the key theme of Amangeldi's art. This is the subject of his picture called "Sweet Sleep." It is the main room of an old-style square house. There are two windows. A clock hangs in between, and there are portraits in glass frames. There is an assembly of books before the window. In the corner is a trunk, and on top luggage is piled. On the felt before the place of honor a child sleeps, bedded down on a scrap quilt. The entire room, the world behind the two windows look after and calm the sleeping child. Another picture is entitled "Children in Sleep." It is the same room, the same place of honor. Only the open luggage, the clothing strewn here and there, and a different time on the wall clock are different. A quilt has been put down in the place of honor, and there are sleeping children fully dressed.

—I intended with this picture to raise the problem of concern for families with many children,—the artist told us later.

This warm nest, as it appears to the eye, this somewhat square room, is also the focus of a painting called "Father's

House." In this painting there appear the stubborn features of a warrior father. We saw the sketch of the next, fourth painting in this series: "The Son Returns from the Army." After we marveled at the same house, and the same setting, it seemed as if Amangeldi was like our own elder brother, in our own village. As the poet says, what leaves one heart enters another.

Thus, it is not easy to wax about the theme of Kazakhs living in Russia, or to convey their refinement or splendor. Indeed we have not paid enough honor to Amangeldi Shakenov. How can we not honor such persons who have raised the banner of talent, who have sung of their native land and who have contributed to the life of their people.

A few years ago the "Oner" Press was going to issue a [Shakenov] art album but nothing came of it. Whether it was a shortage of paper, or the idea that Shakenov is not from Kazakhstan, we have not heard of Amangeldi here. But we must not forget that this album is urgently needed not only by Amangeldi, but also by ourselves.

Likewise, the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Culture, and the Artists' Union should certainly organize an exhibit of Shakenov's paintings. It would seem that the people do not want to support our kinsmen.

If this is not so, then let us show Amangeldi the Aral salt flats, the wounded earth in Semipalatinsk, the black dust in Karaganda, and the rocket tests in the Ulytau. Let the diseases of Kazakhstan, which we cannot heal and which we cannot deal with by posters, remain in memory, and become a painting which will be a memorial to the generations.

In any case, we need special contact with Amangeldi Shakenov. We have seen the ideas that emerge from his workshop.

#### 10. Thoughts on returning

As we saw with our own eyes, so distant Omby is only about two hours by airliner from Alma-Ata. When we arrived in Omby, snow was falling, and when we left the glitter of the sun was lighting up the expanses of the steppe. Our moods changed with nature. When we departed, if it was like going to an unknown land, when we returned, we did not want to depart from friends and acquaintances.

One way or the other, it is hard to remain unaffected by Omby. Airlines fly there four times a week from Alma-Ata. In our view, as fraternal and cultural connections grow between the two cities, it would be proper to increase the frequency of airline service. In addition, it would be good if the passenger train connecting Alma-Ata and Kzyl-orda were to be extended to Omby. Bearing in mind the fact that such things have not been resolved in the past by Moscow, decisions should now be made by the republic government. It would seem that a number of thoughts and suggestions have been expressed in this article about my trip to Omby. If all of them are put into effect, will we not have accomplished something during our journey, which started out into the unknown and found familiar territory, will we not be repaying our debt to our brothers in Omby?

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18 Oct. 1990